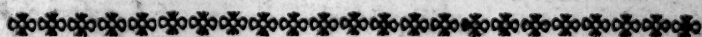


THE
CATILINE
AND
JUGURTHINE
WARS.



Sallustius crispus

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W. A. R. S.
JUGURTHINE
C. A. L. I. E.
C. A. L. I. E.

Gal & Ld
THE
CATILINE
AND
JUGURTHINE
WARS.

TRANSLATED FROM
SALLUST.

BY HUGH MAFFETT, ESQ.
LATE OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

Nec tamen exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes
indiserti solent. CICERO DE FINIBUS.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY STEWART AND SPOTSWOOD, COLLEGE-GREEN.

M,DCC,LXXII.

CATTLE

AND
JUGURTHINE

W A R S.

TRANSLATED FROM

SALLUST.

BY HUGH MATEER, ESQ.
OF THE ARMY.

THESE VOLUMES CONTAIN THE
ENTIRE OF THE WORKS OF
SALLUST.

DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY STEWART AND SON, 10, N. B. STREET, LONDON.
1844.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS CHARLES,

LORD VISCOUNT

GLERAWLY.

MY LORD,

ENCOURAGED by your Lordship's concurrence with my wishes, I presume to lay the following work before you, and shall account myself most happy, if it appears to merit your approbation.

WHEN I first engaged in it I ventured to look up to your Lordship for patronage and protection, nor were my humble expectations damped by disappointment, since with that ready goodness, which will ever distinguish the truly great, you granted me your countenance, and flattered me by your favour.

As I mean not, my Lord, to expose myself to your derision and contempt, I shall wave all strained panegyrick and servile adulation; the eye of discernment would quickly pierce the unsubstantial fabrick, and your character, founded in the virtues of the soul, will blazon itself, and seeks not foreign aid:—most happily for your Lordship it is indeed an incontrovertible fact, that your humanity, benevolence, and other shining qualities, proclaim aloud that your heart is as noble as your title is illustrious.

I HAVE the honour to be,

With perfect deference,

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's most obliged

And very faithful servant,

H. MAFFETT.

4 Courts Marshalsea,
28th November, 1772.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THIS Preface may be deemed an apology, and as such I would have it perused; it is short, simple, and, if I may believe myself, true.—Sallust has been given in our language heretofore, but that circumstance was unknown to me when I began to write: this assertion may appear extraordinary from a classically bred man, but extraordinary as it may appear it is no less just. In my early days I rejected all translations (fearful they might mislead, and willing to stimulate my own industry) thus I am very much a stranger to versions from the dead languages.

I ALWAYS admired Sallust as an elegant and accomplished writer; the book was sent to me by a friend at a time that I had abundant leisure, and renewing my acquaintance with the polite author, I wished to express my notion of him in a familiar tongue. Without confining myself to regularity I made extracts as my fancy led, and, at length, impassioned by my subject, I resolved

to complete the whole ; it is done, and the work itself will declare the rest.

THE quotation from Cicero, in the title page, will account for my deviations from the verbal Latin ; I had no purpose to be literal, nor would I, on that principle, have attempted the book.—When a boy, just out of grammar, can give English for a Latin sentence, it would be a downright insult on the publick to print the oral delivery of thousands in the rudimental schools : I hope, however, while I have been studious to preserve his spirit, that I have not wandered too far from my author's words, and Voltaire encourages me no little by saying, “*Malheur aux faiseurs des traductions litterales, qui, en traduisant chaque mot, enervent le sens.*”

I HAVE corrected the press throughout this publication, and some errors may thence appear ; for, as I had no occasion to recur to the manuscript, it is certain my familiarity with it has been productive of omissions, which would not have been the case had my memory been less tenacious ; thus I find, after all my diligence, a superfluous e in centred, even in the commencing page : for this, and other casual irregularities, I plead the compassion of my friends, for I did not write in the soft lap of retirement and peace, but amidst all the inconveniencies of a prison,

a prison, in sickness and sorrow, and while the calls of the day were still echoing in my ears.

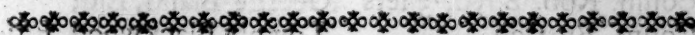
As it is I give it to the world, with trembling expectation, and with all the anxiety that must accompany a new attempt; yet this solicitude has its source in my own feelings, for my profits are ascertained by the favour of my friends, and little can reputation avail to the wretch, who is cut off (such are my prospects!) from society for ever.

in prison, in chains and sorrow, and while the
cells of the day when I'll escape in my ears.

As it is, I am in the world with nothing
expectation, and with all the misery that must
accompany a new attempt, for the last time
I have found in my own heart, for the first
time, the means to the tower of my friends, and
I can respond to the wish, who is
out of (and in) the world, from society for
ever.

S. V. D.

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T H E

T H E

CATILINE WAR.

ALL men who wish to excel other animate beings should guard, with their utmost vigilance, against a life of indolent and unnoticed obscurity, such as is passed by the beasts of the field, formed by nature with a downward aspect, and slaves to their appetites.

BUT all our powers are centered in the soul and body ; by the soul we are governed, by the body we are served ; the one we have in common with the gods, the other the brutes partake with us ; and on this account I think that, in the pursuit of renown, the mental are more eligible than the bodily qualifications ; and that it is incumbent on us, since the very life we enjoy is so limited,

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mitted, to give the world such an impression of us as may not easily be effaced ; for the splendour of riches and beauty is fleeting and frail, while that of virtue is brilliant and eternal.

YET it was long an earnest subject of debate, whether success in war was chiefly to be attributed to corporeal strength, or the vigour of the mind ; for as design should regularly precede action, so action should follow a sound determination ; and thus the two, being singly imperfect, call upon each other for alternate assistance : Wherefore the different early monarchs (for such was the original distinction of command) as led by disposition, exerted the powers of either ; but as yet the allurements of dominion had not captivated man ; as yet, his wishes had been confined within the circle of his own possessions : Indeed when Cyrus began to extend his conquests in Asia, and the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to over-run Greece ; when a passion for rule had sown the seeds of animosity, and men became swayed by an opinion that empire was the perfection of renown, then, at length, it appeared evident, both in the cabinet and in the field, that a politic genius was the masterpiece in war.

Now if our kings and commanders would but act with consistency, and labour to display the abilities of the soul equally in peace as in

war

war, every thing would be on a more just and permanent foundation, nor would such hurry and confusion be observable in the affairs of mankind; for it is easy to maintain government on the principles to which it owed its origin: But where indolence has taken the place of a man's activity, where his chastity and moderation have been superseded by lust and pride, there the revolution in his fortunes keeps pace with that in his morals, and thus, by a regular transition, dominion still passes from the less deserving to him who merits more.

THE pursuits of mankind, whether directed to husbandry, to navigation, or to architecture, or whithersoever they may otherwise tend, all succeed as they are guided by internal powers; yet numbers of our race, enslaved by gluttony and sloth, have passed through life like hasty travellers on a journey, without learning, and unimproved; their enjoyments as they went on, while the soul was a weight on them, against nature's true principles, flowing wholly from the senses. The life and death of such beings I hold in similar estimation, since the veil of oblivion covers them alike.

BUT is there a man who, embarked in any business of moment, pursues with ardour the reputation arising from a glorious achievement, or from the acquirement of a liberal art? This, in my

opinion, is he who makes the noblest use of his endowments, this is the man to whom I give the palm of life ! Many, however, are the paths to honour which variously working nature points out ;—to be actively instrumental in serving one's country is noble, nor is the historian's task without its share of merit : a man may figure to advantage in peace or in war ; the heroes of the day, and the recorders of their glory, have all their tribute of applause ; and though I am sensible there is, generally, no competition admitted between the activity of the one, and the quiet of the other, yet the historian's appears to be, in my eyes, a most difficult undertaking : For, first, your expression must be consonant to the exploits you would commemorate ; and again, where faults are to be reprov'd, the million will set down your impartiality as malevolence and envy ; whilst if you should have occasion to instance the flights of virtue, or the lustre of goodness, every individual will credit your account as his own mind shapes the possibility of such actions ; are you beyond its narrow limits ? you will find no faith.

For my part, a passion for publick life, prevalent with most people, engaged me, while yet a stripling, in my country's concerns ; but my progress was marked by mortification and disappointment : for the traces of modesty, integrity, and generosity, were no longer distinguishable, where
effrontery,

effrontery, corruption, and avarice had set up their thrones, and tho' an unpolluted soul could enable me to reject these vices with indignation, yet my tender age, escaping their more dangerous entanglements, was allured by ambition and fettered in its chains; and notwithstanding my life and manners were so different from those of my dissolute cōtemporaries, nevertheless, from the nature of my pursuits, I was equally exposed to the buzz of slander and the persecution of malice.

WHEREFORE when my soul was, at length, disengaged from the perils and embarrassments which had hitherto surrounded it, and when I had determined upon spending my remnant of days remote from the hurry of publick life, it did not then become my purpose to waste my future happy leisure in sloth and supineness, or to pass my time in the sports of the field, or the cultivation of my grounds; such employments being, as I thought, more suited to the capacities of slaves. On the contrary, (resuming that design and undertaking, from which accursed ambition had withheld me so long) I resolved to sketch out my country's triumphs, as each seemed worthiest of record; and to a work of this nature I was, the rather, impelled, as neither hope, fear, nor party had any place in my breast.

ACTUATED by such motives, and with truth for my guide, I shall summarily relate the con-

6 THE CATILINE WAR.

spiracy of CATILINE. That dreadful plot has, I think, a peculiar claim to notice, both for its unheard of wickedness, and the ruin with which it menaced the state. But it will be fitting, before my narrative begins, to give a few general outlines of this traitor's character.

LUCIUS CATILINE, noble by birth, was endowed with amazing abilities both of body and mind, but his disposition was vicious and depraved: civil war, assassination, robbery, and private brawls were the solace of his youth from its earliest days; in such distractions he consumed his time: His body was patient, beyond faith, of hunger, fatigue, and cold; his spirit daring, subtle and inconstant; dissimulation was habitual to him; the appearances of truth and falsehood were varied at his will; wildly impatient for other men's riches, he was corruptly lavish of his own, and unbounded in the gratification of his impetuous desires:—A fluency of words with little solidity characterized him; for his viciously great soul still wandered out of nature, his designs were too chimerical, and his projects the flights of extravagance.

AFTER Lucius Sylla had abdicated the government, his machinations were all directed towards securing it for himself, and being only anxious about the success of his schemes, every consideration of their propriety was foreign from his thoughts.

thoughts. He was hurried on, besides, by the fiery tumults in his breast, which were kindled by his poverty, and fed by his remorse, the woful consequences of an ill spent life : moreover the general corruption of the people stimulated his enterprize ; slaves as they were to the most infernal, the most opposite vices, to luxury and avarice.

SINCE I had occasion here to censure the depravity of the Romans, I am therefore tempted to interrupt the course of my relation, that I may consider the more early periods of our state, and enter into a short dissertation on the principles by which our ancestors were swayed both in peace and war;—that I may examine in what manner they established their government, how improved they left it, how it gradually degenerated, and how at last it became, instead of the noblest and best, the worst, and most flagitious system of rule.

THE Trojans who were compelled to fly their native country, and who, under the auspices of Æneas, long wandered in search of a place of rest, were the first, according to my accounts, who built and inhabited the city of Rome. In their undertaking they were assisted by the natives of the place, a rude, licentious, dissolute race, without laws, and under no control : it is astonishing to think of the coalition of this people, immediately

8 THE CATILINE WAR.

ately on their fixing within the same walls ; more especially, as they were of different nations, had a distinct language, and customs no way correspondent. Population, internal police, and increase of property soon strengthened this new government, and changed its uncouth appearance ; but as every good in this life hath its alloy of evil, so the power and opulence of the Romans exposed them to their neighbours malignity and distrust.

WAR followed of course, which, almost unassisted, they must sustain ; for many of their allies, smitten with apprehension, kept aloof from, and avoided the danger of the day : but the Romans still attentive to circumstances in peace and in war, soon hastened their arrangements,—encouraged, exhorted each other, and advanced against the enemy resolute to conquer or to die, in protecting their families, their liberties, and their country. Such undaunted bravery could not be resisted ; and then when their valour had surmounted all opposition, their few faithful friends were aided and redressed : indeed they were, in general, delicate in asking favours, but eager in their offered kindnesses, and by this conduct they established the most permanent connections.

THE form of the constitution was limited monarchy. The senate consisted of a chosen few, who were advanced in years but improved in wisdom ;

dom ; and the members of this august body, either as a distinction of age, or for the affinity of their cares, were honoured with the title of fathers. In process of time when the regal sway, instituted on principles of private freedom, and universal emolument, had degenerated into haughtiness and despotism, the people new modelled their government, by making the supreme command annually elective in two Consuls ; as wisely considering that power thus limited was less liable to invite to tyranny and oppression.

It was then the trials of emulation were exhibited ;—it was then the efforts of genius were displayed ; before there was but slender encouragement for virtue : men of capacity are still viewed by the tyrant with a jaundiced eye ; their abilities are the sources of his eternal apprehension ; the fool is only glanced at and forgotten. But this cloud once removed, and freedom thus restored, the alarm to glory resounded throughout the city, and the most rapid improvement promised the future grandeur of the state. The camps were crowded with the Roman youth, as soon as they were of an age to carry arms ; there, by painful practice, they acquired the mystery of war ; and despising the blandishments of harlots, with the luxury of the banquet ; the beauty and agility of their horses, the splendour and elegance of their arms, took up all their attention, and constituted all their pride.

THUS

THUS inured to hardship they were superiour to fatigue ; no place was too dangerous, too difficult to attempt ; no enemy in battalia could affect them with dismay : such heroick bravery annihilated all opposition, and indeed there was an enthusiasm in their rivalry for renown : all were ardent to engage in battle ; all were eager to scale the hostile rampart ; and to catch the general's attention, in a moment like this, was the wish and triumph of every heart : this was their wealth, this was their reputation, this was their nobility of blood. Avaricious of applause, they were liberal of their money ; extravagant in the search of glory, they were satisfied with moderate riches.

I COULD here give, as they crowd upon my memory, the most amazing instances of this heroism ; such as the destruction of immense armies, and the storm of almost impregnable fortresses, with only an handful of men ; but it would break the thread of my relation, and must therefore be postponed. After all, we must allow that the affairs of this world are strangely at the mercy of fortune ; and often, with more caprice than justice, does it bestow the wreath, or extend the veil of darkness : for example, I know much honour is due to the men of Athens for their past exploits, which were undoubtedly eminent and illustrious : still, however, I must suppose them somewhat heightened by representation : yet, be-
cause

cause a few great geniusses chanced to start up there to record them, the most distant regions have re-echoed the Athenian name and glory : thus then, bright as has been the fire of the historian is now the hero's fame.

BUT at Rome such advantages as these were unknown ; there capacity and employment were synonymous terms ; whatever the statesman planned in the closet, he, himself the hero, executed in the field ; qualification for business was the motive to embark in it ; and more honour was thought to flow from acts worthy the historian's pen, than from registering, in ease and indolence, the achievements of others.

EXCELLENCE of morals then, and the happiest harmony must have been universally prevalent with men so disposed, while the very name of avarice was lost amongst them ; nor had justice and virtue more sanction from the laws, than from the natural bias of the people for whose restraint they were framed. All quarrels, animosities, and secret ill-will were reserved for the nations with which they were at war ; amongst themselves the sole contest was for the prize of virtue : Magnificence in their temples, frugality at home, and fidelity in their friendships were their allowed characteristicks ; while courage in battle, and moderation in peace, gave lustre to their conquests, and permanency to their empire.

UPON

UPON these two springs of action the following observations strike me most; first that, in time of war, they more frequently inflicted punishment on the soldiers who dared to engage their enemy before the trumpet sounded a charge, or on those who disobeyed the signal of retreat, than upon the cowards who forsook their standards, and fled dastardly from the field: Secondly, that in peace they reconciled opinion to their authority more by mildness than reproof; and that it was their practice rather to forgive injuries, than to persecute the offenders with malice and revenge.

THIS uniform course of industry and uprightness could not fail of its effect in aggrandizing the republick; but when this was accomplished, and all opposition was surmounted; when the most powerful monarchs and fiercest barbarians had submitted to their sway; when Carthage, that tedious rival of their empire, had perished from her foundations, and when the extended world had acknowledged their dominion; then they were to experience the fickleness of fortune, and to see all things involved in misery and confusion. For the men who had sustained, without repining, every severity of fatigue, who had braved every danger unappalled, and who had rushed into conflicts big with ruin and death,—these very men found, in the purchase of their toil, in ease and affluence so coveted by others, the

the bane of all their enjoyments, the spring of all their woes.

AVARICE was the first invader; ambition followed close behind; these two are, as it were, the parents of every other vice: for avarice saps the foundations of publick faith, of sincerity, and of general virtue; while pride, cruelty, profanation, and corruption are erected on their ruins, and flourish by its means. Ambition introduced the doctrine of perjury; by it men were first taught to conceal their real sentiments, and to lie boldly;—to consider alliances or ruptures with any state, according to the quantum of present advantage, without regard to the real merits of the cause; and finally, to wear a plausible appearance, as infinitely preferable to an honest heart. Gradual, in the beginning, were the inroads of these destroyers; at times too they felt and were damped by correction: but soon the infection spread like a pestilence; the whole city acknowledged its baleful influence; and the constitution, originally formed upon the purest and most excellent principles, gave place to a system of tyranny and blood.

AMBITION however had at first more votaries than avarice, for this vice displays some semblance of virtue; its allurements are glory, honour, and dominion, by which the hero is as much attracted as the coward is enslaved; but the one
sets

sets out with rectitude for his guide, the other, a stranger to its maxims, labours upward by cunning and deceit.

AVARICE takes in the love of money, which no man of wisdom ever indulged: endued, as it were, with some deadly quality, it poisons the body and debilitates the soul; always unbounded and insatiable it is neither to be contented with poverty nor riches. Yet in time this vice also took its turn to rule; for when Sylla, who had recovered the commonwealth by his valour, began to contradict, by destructive measures, his first promising conduct, then rapine and violence were suffered to roam at large:—no house, no possessions were secure to their owner; no restraint, no moderation were observed by his soldiers; no savage inhumanity to the citizens forbore. These outrages were thus aggravated by the temper of the troops; they were part of that army which he had commanded in Asia, and which he had there, against all precedent, indulged in a profusion of luxury and expence, the price of their adherence to his future fortunes.

THIS happy region, where pleasure still invited to enjoyment, soon softened the rugged soldier now resting from his toil. Here first he acknowledged the powerful force of beauty; here first he experienced the intoxicating joys of wine; and here first he was visited by the dæmon of taste
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with a passion for statuary, for paintings, and vessels of curious art : to gratify this, every wickedness was perpetrated ; the temples of the gods sacrilegiously profaned, and all things holy or unhallowed indiscriminately abused. An army so very dissolute must have been a terrible conqueror, and in fact the pillage ended only, with the nakedness of the foe : the wise and virtuous find it difficult to steer an even course in prosperity ; what then could be expected from a rude band of soldiers, vitiated in their principles, and flushed with their success ?

WEALTH now becoming the only road to greatness, renown, authority, and imperial power being thought to flow from it alone, the charms of virtue faded ; poverty was pursued with execration, and reproach ; innocence and reservedness were stigmatized as design and malice. Riches then were the inlets to luxury, avarice, and pride, by them the principles of the Roman youth were poisoned, and their morals destroyed ; by them were introduced rapine and prodigality ; the wanton dissipation of their own property, and covetousness for that of others : a total neglect of modesty and chasteness ; a blended contempt of God and man, and an absolute forgetfulness of all order and decorum.

It is not unworthy of attention to consider the affecting contrast, between the edifices of modern
structure

structure swelled into the size of cities, and those temples which were reared to the honour of the gods, by the piety of our ancestors, the most religious of men! but they embellished the house of worship by the fervour of devotion, whilst their glorious achievements ornamented their own, nor did they seek for aught in victory, but to be secured from fresh encroachments:—how dissimilar is the conduct of the present Romans, who trampling on the ties of honour and of faith, plunder even their allies of such things as these generous heroes would have disdained to take from enemies, though the laws of conquest had made them their own? thus evidencing by their actions, too strongly, their belief, that the true end of empire is violence and outrage.

WHAT occasion have I to relate their other numerous extravagancies? with what one mortal would my detail find belief, unless he had the previous testimony of his own senses? without such evidence could it be credited that mountains had been levelled with the plain! that the ocean had been crowded with sumptuous edifices! and that these, and many more wild wasteful projects, were all the undertakings of private men? upon which mode of conduct I can't help remarking that their notion of riches must have been very ridiculous; since instead of turning them to a valuable account, they were wholly intent upon preposterous dissipation.

Not

Not less out of nature was the propensity to harlots, to the haunts of lewdness, and to every other vicious pursuit : men offered themselves as Pathicks ; women prostituted their bodies under the publick eye ; earth and ocean were ransacked to supply their tables, and before nature required its refreshment sleep was solicited ; the real calls of hunger, of thirst, of cold, or of fatigue were not waited for ; all were anticipated by luxury. This prevalence of corruption when their fortunes were reduced, precipitated the Roman youth into the commission of the most desperate crimes : their souls were linked to vice, and demanded the accustomed gratification ; to furnish which they embarked themselves, the more extensively, in every scheme of riot and profusion.

In this so immense and profligate a city, Catiline, with little difficulty, soon gathered round his person a number of the most vicious and abandoned in the nature of guards. For was there a fornicator, adulterer, or pander ? was there a man reduced to beggary by gaming, gluttony, or lust ? was there any one involved in enormous debts contracted for his redemption from the lash of law ? were there any parricides, sacrilegious robbers, convicted criminals, or others who had reason to dread the same sentence ? were there any besides who lived by perjury and assassination, and finally any whom their manifold crimes, their galling poverty, and conscious feel-

ings suffered not to rest ? all flocked to Catiline—all such were his familiar confidants, and bosom friends.

BUT if it chanced that a man of integrity and honour fell in his way, constant fellowship with iniquity, and the temptations of voluptuousness, soon banished these good qualities, and reduced him to a level with the rest : hence it was that he chiefly affected the acquaintance of raw young men ; for he knew the pliancy and tenderness of their dispositions, and that they would easily be entrapped by his insnaring arts : the first object of his attention was their ruling passions, his next to humour them by the fullest gratification ; thus, the man of pleasure had his females, the sportsman his hounds and horses, neither expence nor reputation were spared by their seducer, to attach them to his interests, and to rivet their fidelity.

I KNOW it has been a received opinion that these vile associates were the slaves of unnatural desire ; but I am persuaded that prejudice, and not fact, gave a colour to the report : as to Catiline himself, in his earliest manhood, he had approved himself consummate in the practice of iniquity ; he had ravished a noble maid ; deflowered a vestal virgin, and committed many other atrocious offences restrained by positive law, and forbidden by natural justice. At length being fired
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with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla (a lady whose beauty constituted the whole of her accomplishments,) because she refused him her hand, as fearful of his son by a former marriage now grown to maturity, it is held for a truth that by the sacrifice of his child, he removed this objection to his infernal nuptials.

THIS bloody act (if perpetrated) must have principally hastened the desperate conspiracy against his country; for his soul was so loaded and blackened with guilt, so much at variance with both heaven and earth, and so furiously wrung by conscience and remorse, that his waking thoughts were distraction, and his dreams the feelings of the damned: hence the wan and haggard aspect! hence the deadly glare of his eyes! hence the suspicious irregularity in his gait, and hence the madness starting forth in every look and gesture!

As to those youths whom, as I have before related, he had thus inveigled, no pains were spared to make them adepts in villany, to instruct them how to become false witnesses, to commit forgery, to laugh at breaches of promise or plighted faith, to lavish their fortunes, and finally to brave all dangers. Having thus gradually destroyed their reputations and banished all sense of shame, his views upon them were enlarged, and they were embarked in more extensive plans of

wickedness. Nay so murderous was his disposition, that, even when his satiated revenge left him no real object to pursue, his orders were still issued for undistinguishing assassination : absence of employment would, he feared, have encouraged reflection, this might have been fatal, and therefore, to guard against it, he was wanton in cruelty, and a reveller in blood.

SUCH, as I have described them, were the friends and confederates on whom Catiline built with confidence for the ruin of his country : his other dependencies were first the general poverty of the people ; again, the avowed disposition of of Sylla's old army ; these soldiers had lavishly outran their means, and having once before reaped the harvest of victory, they looked forward with eagerness to another civil war : he knew, moreover, that Italy had no troops ; that Pompey was warring in the extremity of the empire ; that his own expectation of the consulate was very flattering ; that the attention of the senate was lulled to rest, and that all things wore a face of composure and tranquillity : what combination of circumstances could be more favourable to his views ?

TAKING advantage of this juncture then, about the beginning of June (when Lucius Cæsar and Caius Figulus were Consuls) and addressing himself to each of his adherents seperately, he
animated

animated some, founded others, and disclosed to them in general the foundations of his hopes; such as the powerful connections he had formed, the defenceless state of the republick, and the extravagant acquisitions which conquest would bestow. Having thus taken every necessary precaution, his next care was to appoint a place of meeting, to which the most indigent and desperate of his associates were summoned.

IN this assembly were found the following senators—Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla, the sons of Servius Cornelius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Portius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius; besides of the Equestrian order there were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Stilius, Publius Gabinus Capito, and Caius Cornelius, with many people of distinction from the colonies and municipal towns: all these were avowedly friends to the conspiracy; but exclusive of them it had also its secret abettors; men who favoured it more through ambitious views, than from any motives of want or poverty.

THE young nobility, especially, were sanguine in the cause; they who were possessed of every gift of fortune, even they were willing to give up certainty for hope, and the delights of peace for the horrors of war. It was given out also, in

those days, that Marcus Licinius Crassus had a knowledge of the design, and two reasons were alleged in confirmation of the report : one was his rooted hatred to Pompey (who was at the head of a numerous army, and whose greatness he wanted to counterbalance, without regard to the merits of his opponent) the other, the aspiring principle of the man, which flattered him to believe that if the conspiracy took effect, he could get himself, without much difficulty, appointed first in the new government.

PREVIOUS to this time too Catiline had been, with some few others, engaged in another conspiracy against the state ; the best account I have of it shall be given in few words. In the consulate of Lucius Tullus, and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius, and Publius Sulla, the consuls elect, being accused and convicted of bribery in their canvasses, were, for that offence, rejected, and suffered the penalties of the law : Catiline, soon after, was charged with extortion in his government, and therefore prevented from standing for consul ; his qualification depended on the event of his trial, but that not coming on, until after the days limited for the candidates declarations, he was thus legally incapacitated from publishing his intentions.

A COTEMPORARY with these men was Cneius Piso, a youth of noble parentage, but needy, desperate,

perate, and seditious ; one whom want and wickedness excited to embroil the commonwealth. In conjunction with him, Autronius and Catiline formed a plan, about the fifth of December, for the murder of Cotta and Torquatus, the consuls, in the capitol, on the first of January following ; this accomplished, and the ensigns of magistracy secured, an army under Piso was to attempt the conquest of both the Spains : a rumour of the plot however transpired ; and the scheme of assassination was postponed until the fifth of February ; but it was now enlarged considerably, for with the consuls most of the senators were devoted to destruction ; and if Catiline had not, too precipitately, given the signal before the senatehouse, on that day would have been perpetrated the blackest deed that ever disgraced the annals of Rome. Providentially the conspirators had not yet assembled in a body, by which means the bloody purpose was overthrown.

THIS same Piso (already quæstor) was soon after invested with the dignity of proprætor, and sent, with that title, into the nearest province of Spain ; the influence of Crassus procured him the office, and his enmity to Pompey the friendship of Crassus ; but indeed the senators in general were not averse to the appointment, since it removed a terrible desperado from the city ; while the prudent and virtuous were pleased with it in particular, as a sort of security against the encroachments

croachments of Pompey, whose power was become enormous, and menacing to the state.

This expectation, however, was disappointed by the death of Piso; who, journeying to his province, was waylaid, and slain by the Spanish horsemen that were dispersed amongst his troops: the cause of this murder is variously imagined; some think that his authority was exercised with too much injustice, pride, and cruelty, and that therefore these barbarians turned rebels to his command: others, again, trace the motives of it up to Pompey; asserting that these assassins were his old and faithful adherents, and that the deed was done by his express desire; in confirmation of this opinion they vouch the general conduct of the Spaniards, which had always been both mild and submissive under every species of tyranny and oppression. I shall not take upon me to determine this point, but think I have sufficiently explained the conspiracy, and will now continue my narrative.

As soon as Catiline had convoked all the above-named confederates in his crime, notwithstanding he had often explained himself to them separately, yet thinking it would now be the properest time to make a publick profession of his plan, and principles; he caused them to retire into the most private recesses of his palace, and there

there, fearless of detection, he thus harangued the assembly.

“HAD I not the most exalted opinion of your
 “bravery and attachment, this opportunity
 “would have offered in vain to my hopes, in vain
 “would this glorious prospect of dominion have
 “opened before me ; nor should I, by the boast-
 “ings of cowardice, or the flights of inconsisten-
 “cy, have been tempted to risk a certain estab-
 “lishment. But having experienced, in times
 “of difficulty and danger, the most satisfactory
 “proofs of your bravery and honour, it is there-
 “fore that my soul has aspired to an enterprise,
 “the nature of which is as noble as its rewards
 “are illustrious. Our common wants and wishes
 “are the basis of our union ; it is harmony of opi-
 “nion which constitutes the perfection of friend-
 “ship, and whether mine be or be not correspon-
 “dent to yours, the sentiments I have disclosed
 “to each of you, in private, will best determine.

“BUT now, what expression can paint the an-
 “guish of my breast still aggravated by reflections
 “on our melancholy situation ? A situation in
 “which there is nothing left to hope for, save one
 “great effort for life and liberty ! for since the
 “time that our constitution became a corrupt
 “aristocracy, all power has been centred in the
 “members of that infamous cabal : to them
 “kings and princes have been subjected, to them
 “the

26 THE CATILINE WAR.

" the conquered nations have paid their tribute,
 " while we who have acted out of this circle,
 " with, it may be, bravery, generosity, and nobi-
 " lity to recommend us, have been passed over
 " without distinction, stamped with insignifican-
 " cy, neither honoured by favour, nor graced
 " with authority, nay contemptibly looked
 " down upon by these very men, to whom, if
 " the state had recovered its vigour, we should
 " become the objects of terrour and dismay.

" HERE then is the source of interest, domi-
 " nion, reputation and riches, of which the
 " chosen few alone are suffered to partake, while
 " we have for our portions dangers and fatigue,
 " ignominious repulses from the magistracy, sen-
 " tences of conviction, and the bitterness of po-
 " verty. But oh my valiant friends! will ye be
 " patient under these indignities for ever? is it
 " not better to die at once in the field of glory,
 " than to linger out a life of misery and shame,
 " as despicable in its continuance, as reproachful
 " in its end? but why talk I of dying? for hea-
 " ven and earth! do we look for any further as-
 " surance of success? in the prime of manhood,
 " and with souls of intrepidity, we are to en-
 " counter opponents feeble from age, enervated
 " by luxury, every way impotent, and incapable
 " of resistance; so that to dare, with us, is to con-
 " quer, and to begin is to accomplish.

" THEN

" THEN which of us can boast the feelings of a
 " man and yet witness with temper to these mon-
 " trous outrages? to the expenditure of such a
 " waste of riches, in choaking up the sea with
 " edifices, and in reducing mountains to the
 " plain; while we alas! are without a suffici-
 " ency for even the real wants of nature; to the
 " parade of two or more sumptuous palaces,
 " kept up by each of these lordly rulers; while
 " we have not even a hovel wherein to hide our
 " heads; to the profusion of expence in paint-
 " ings, busts, and works of the engraver; to the
 " whimsies that overturn the most splendid build-
 " ings and erect others in their place; to the in-
 " vention still on the rack for new modes of
 " dissipation, and to the superfluity of wealth
 " which baffles all extravagance? while our
 " wretched lot is poverty at home, persecution
 " of creditors abroad, a piercing certainty of pre-
 " sent misery, with the gloomiest prospect of its
 " future aggravation. But why do I waste the
 " moments in this detail of calamity? for what is
 " there remaining to us but life itself? a life
 " imbittered by every wo!

" WHY do you not then arise to vindicate
 " yourselves? behold—behold that liberty so
 " often and so ardently desired! see where wealth
 " honour and renown are offered to your view?
 " these fortune has annexed to the triumphs of
 " victory: let the importance of this business, the
 " happy

“happy occasion, the surrounding dangers, our
 “poverty and the magnificence of the spoils plead
 “for themselves ! more powerfully they must
 “operate on you than can my representation :
 “either as your general or fellow-soldier I am
 “entirely your own ; my soul and body are de-
 “voted to your service ; but it is my hope that
 “in my assistance you will have that of a consul,
 “unless my judgment is erroneous and slavery
 “proves more acceptable in your eyes than liber-
 “ty and empire.”

WHEN the se men who were loaded with all
 sorts of misery, and whose circumstances were as
 desperate as their hopes were forlorn, had listened
 to Catiline's harangue, many of them, (notwith-
 standing they thought that any commotion in the
 state must be productive of infinite advantage to
 them) began to inquire upon what foundation
 they were to engage in this war ; what rewards
 they should ensure themselves by the success of
 their arms ; and what certainty of assistance and
 support they might promise themselves from every
 quarter ? to this Catiline replied that all their
 debts should be annulled, the grandees proscribed,
 the offices of state, the priesthood, the plunder
 be theirs, and finally that all the emoluments of
 war and conquest should be shared among them :
 that as to his dependencies—Piso who command-
 ed in the hither Spain, and Publius Silius Nuce-
 rinus who headed the army in Mauritania were
 the

the abettors of his designs ; that Caius Antonius was a candidate for the consulate, with whom he hoped to fill that office ; that he was the friend of his heart, and the partner of his distress, and that immediately on their joint election their operations should begin.

THEN followed a series of invectives and execrations against the good and virtuous citizens ; after which, addressing himself to each of his followers by name, praise and exhortation were bestowed abundantly on them all ; one was reminded of his indigence ; another of his passions ; many of their enormous debts, and the rigours with which they would be exacted ; but the greatest number of Sylla's victories, and of the ample spoils obtained in that war : having thus raised their spirits to a pitch of elevation, and again charged them earnestly to be careful of his interest at the election, he dissolved the assembly.

It was rumoured by some people, in those days, that Catiline, at the time of making this harangue, when he had dictated an oath of secrecy to his accomplices, presented each of them with a goblet of wine mingled with human blood ; which, on binding themselves by the obligation, they were all obliged to taste of, in manner of the libations at our religious solemnities ; and that then, not before, he communicated

ted his purpose : it was added that his view in this project was to secure their fidelity to one-another, as being jointly partakers of the same dreadful potion. There were others who thought this report and many similar to it were fictitious ; and that they were all invented by Cicero's friends, who hoped to free his character from the odium annexed to it (on account of his severity in punishing the conspirators) by the blackest representation of their intended crimes. In my own opinion the tale is too much out of nature to merit belief.

IN my list of these confederates I have named Quintus Curius, a man of illustrious parentage but covered with guilt and infamy, and therefore degraded by the censors from his rank of senator. Of a temper as light and giddy as it was confident and daring, he could neither keep another's counsel nor conceal his own crimes, but was as boastful of his designs as intrepid in their execution. Between him and Fulvia, a lady of the first quality, a criminal intrigue had been long carried on ; of late however, being reduced in his fortune, the usual access to her had been denied, since to gratify her taste for expence was no longer in his power : but once privy to the conspiracy, there was no end to his vaunts and promises, made with a view to engage her compliance with his desires, to effect which he often even

even menaced her with death, and in his whole conduct discovered an unusual desperation.

As soon as Fulvia had traced the motives for such strange haughtiness, she did not conceal the danger impending over the state, but published to numbers what she had heard of the business, with a reserve of only her informer's name.

THIS rumour was the original and prevailing inducement for electing to the consulate Marcus Tullius Cicero ; till now most of the nobility opposed him through envy, giving out that the dignity of that high office would be dishonoured, if conferred upon a man of his mean birth, tho' of a sufficiency not to be objected to. But the danger quickly levelled these idle distinctions, which were founded in malice, and supported by pride.

THEREFORE on holding the election Cicero and Caius Antonius were declared consuls, and this was the first shock that unhinged the conspirators designs. Yet it could not abate the phrensy of Catiline, whose thoughts were the more busily employed upon his scheme ; his preparations were hastened, arms were purchased and laid up in the most convenient cities of Italy, and whatever money could be raised either on his own, or his friends security, was sent off to Mallius (some

one

one of his followers) at Fæfulæ, and he it was who first appeared in the field.

MEN of all professions were now gathered around him, and he had also some females in his train. These were women who had in their early days supported a life of luxury by the wages of prostitution; and who, after time had diminished their beauty and of course their means, had, by a continuance of the accustomed profusion, become deeply involved in debt and difficulties. Through their influence Catiline hoped to engage the slaves in his cause, to accomplish his purpose of firing the city, and to procure the aid of their husbands, or an opportunity of destroying them.

AMONGST these women was a lady named Sempronia, whose many daring actions bespoke the boldness of manhood. Dignified by descent, and graced with every beauty, she had been wedded to happiness, and her offspring promised joy; a proficient in the Greek and Latin languages, she also excelled in musick and dancing, on her skill in which she valued herself more than modesty allowed; well versed in all the mysteries of sensual enjoyment, they ranked higher in her estimation than her honour and good name; as neglectful of her character as lavish of her money; she sacrificed the one as freely as she dissipated the other; and so inflamed by libidinous passion, that she even obtruded herself on her lovers, and
instead

instead of the pursued became the pursuing sex; previous to this particular time, she had often been guilty of a breach of faith; what friendship had intrusted she had denied with perjury; murder too had been familiar to her, and by her passions and poverty she had been precipitated into the abyss of infamy and guilt: as to the rest—her wit was pointed, her turn poetical, and her talent ridicule: with language at command, she could suit it to any occasion, was modest, alluring, or wanton in it by turns; and to sum up all, she had the readiest conception, with a fund of vivacity never to be exhausted.

These measures being taken, Catiline still aspired, notwithstanding his former defeat, to the succeeding consulate; hoping that if he could get himself appointed, he should be able to govern Antonius at pleasure; nor did he in the meantime give himself up to inactivity or indolence, on the contrary he was continually torturing his brain for new devices to entrap Cicero; here however he was foiled at his own weapons; for, from his entering into office, Cicero had laid himself out to gain Curius, of whom before, and by his liberal promises of recompense through the channel of Fulvia, had prevailed on him to discover all Catiline's designs: besides, by yielding a province to him, he had influenced his colleague, to drop all machinations against the commonwealth; and add to this that he had a guard of his friends and

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clients,

clients, still secretly disposed about his person for security and protection.

AT length when the day of election came on, and Catiline's suit for the consulæ, and his plots against the consul had all the same unsuccessful issue ; furious through disappointment, and stung by disgrace, he determined, as a last effort, on war and violence. In aid of this purpose he dispatched Caius Mallius to Fæsulæ, and the neighbouring parts of Etruria ; another of his associates called Septimius (a native of Camertium) into the country about Picenum ; Caius Julius into Apulia, and others of his friends to different quarters, as he thought most conducive to his interest.

AT the same time he himself was not idle at Rome ; every species of treachery was practised against the consul ; combustibles were stored up, and the avenues to the places of publick resort beset with armed men ; always weaponed himself he was eternally commanding and exhorting his confederates, to watch anxiously every occasion for action ; eager and ardent by night and by day he was ever on his guard, and despising the refreshment of sleep still superiour to fatigue.

SEEING however that all his diligence could not forward his undertaking, he at length again summoned the chiefs of the conspiracy, by Mar-

cus Portius Læcca, to a midnight meeting; in which, after expressing great displeasure at their dilatoriness, he informs them that Mallius was already sent to head that body of people which he had some time before prepared for a revolt; that other commanders were appointed in the districts which were well affected to him, who had their instructions to commence hostilities; and that he himself was most desirous of joining his forces, but first thought it indispensably requisite to dispatch Cicero, for that to leave him behind in Rome would disconcert all his schemes.

THIS explanation of his sentiments both staggered and affrighted all who heard it, except a Roman knight called Cornelius, and Vargunteius the senator, who at once undertook for the completion of his wishes; and the plan they adopted was, on that very morning to enter the consul's house under pretext of paying their compliments, and there to assassinate him unsuspecting of mischief. But Curius, on the instant that he became master of the secret, gave hasty notice by Fulvia to the consul of his danger, and in consequence admission being refused to the conspirators, this bloody purpose was conceived in vain.

MEAN while Mallius had full employment in Etruria, stirring up and animating the inhabitants to take arms, and in this he was aided by their changeable dispositions, by their poverty, and the

smarting of their recent injuries ; for under Sylla's usurpation they had been plundered of their property and robbed of their effects. He enlisted besides all the banditti he could meet with, and of these there was a considerable number in that country, and a few also of Sylla's soldiers, who were established there, and who had wasted all their acquisitions in riot and extravagance.

WHEN Cicero was satisfied of the truth of all these circumstances, and found that his own attention and care could not be any longer effectual to stifle the conspiracy within the city, and also that of himself he was not able to procure the necessary intelligence of the number and designs of Mallius's army, distracted by the double danger he disclosed the business to the senate, of which a flying rumour had been already circulated through Rome.

THIS known, the senate (as is usual in matters of dreadful import) decreed, "that the consuls should exert their utmost vigilance, to guard the republick from all injury:" this was the form (by the Roman constitution) of delegating to the magistrates the highest possible authority; by it they were empowered to make the levies, to carry on wars, to exercise unlimited jurisdiction over both allies and citizens, and to be supreme in command and final in decision, equally in a civil as in a military capacity; for none of these things were
incident

incident to the office of consul, and could only be annexed to it in this manner, or by an act of the people in their general assemblies.

SOON after this Lucius Senius the senator read a letter in that house, which came, he said, from Fæfulæ; and by it he was informed that, before the twenty seventh of October, Mallius had taken the field at the head of a numerous army; while others, as is usual on such occasions, recounted the frightful prodigies they had heard of, with the monstrous appearances they had seen: it was added, that various associations were formed, that the insurrection was general, and that at Capua, and in Apulia, the slaves had actually begun the war.

THEREFORE the senate decreed that Quintus Marcius Rex should be sent to Fæfulæ, and Quintus Metellus Creticus into Apulia; and that their authority should extend over the adjacent country: these two generals had not entered into Rome since their return from former successful expeditions, being yet debarred the honours of a triumph, by a malicious faction with which all things were venal. The Prætors, Quintus Pompeius Rufus, and Quintus Metellus Celer were also ordered away, the one to Capua, the other to Picenum, with directions to get such an army on foot as the time allowed of, and the emergency required; rewards too were held out to the discoverers

of the conspiracy ; a slave engaged in it was to have his liberty and 100,000 sesterces *, a free-man his pardon with 200,000 ; and it was further determined that the bands of gladiators should be dispersed through the municipal towns, in such numbers as were necessary for the defence of each ; and that guards should be posted in every quarter of the city, over which the inferiour magistrates were to preside.

By these measures of prevention all things became hurry and distraction at Rome : in a long period of tranquillity the citizens had turned votaries to mirth and pleasure, but these quickly gave place to every species of woe : anxious, and alarmed, they knew not where to seek for security, nor in whom to put their trust ; not absolutely engaged in war, they yet where strangers to the comforts of peace, while the danger was magnified by terrour and apprehension. The women too, who found no relief for their fears in the grandeur of the state, were overwhelmed with anguish and dismay, and stretching out their hands to heaven in supplication, besought the gods to compassionate and preserve their tender offspring. All things seemed big with approaching ruin ; wherefore banishing pride and luxury from their thoughts, their whole time was given up to sad rumination on their own, and their country's lost condition.

* About 500l. of our money.

STILL however the furious Catiline maintained his deadly purpose, altho' he knew of all the precautions made use of to defeat it, and notwithstanding he was charged with his crimes, upon the Plautian law, by Lucius Paullus: at length, with an eye to dissimulation, and a view to be thought innocent, he stood forth in the senate, as if eager to vindicate his character thus so injuriously attacked; and it was then that the consul Tully, whether he feared that this appearance of candour might mislead, or that he found his passions aroused at the sight of his inveterate foe, delivered that oration (which he published some time after) so much celebrated for its eloquence, and so beneficial to the state.

WHEN he had ended and was seated, Catiline (a practitioner in deceit) with a modest aspect, and in a strain of humiliation, besought the fathers, "Not to form too rashly any opinion to his prejudice; that his family was so illustrious, and his own conduct in life so irreproachable, as to entitle him to hope for both honour and esteem; could they imagine that he a Patrician, by whom, and by whose noble ancestors the republick had been singularly favoured, could be possibly advantaged by the destruction of Rome, which Cicero (a man of new dignity, and without any ties of nature to engage him) should find it his interest and inclination to preserve

preserve?" he was next proceeding to invectives against the consul, but was interrupted by an universal clamour, and the appellation of "parricide and enemy to his country!" on which in a tempest of passion he exclaimed, "Since I am hurried headlong to extremities by the oppression of my foes, this fire kindled for my destruction shall, before it is extinguished, consume you all:" with this threat he burst out of the assembly and shut himself up in his palace

THENCE, (after a long consultation with himself, which discovered to him the folly of his designs against the consul, and the impracticability of his scheme for burning the city, now too closely guarded) he set out at midnight for Mallius's camp attended by only a few followers; judging it best to augment his army immediately, and to provide for many necessary contingencies, before the legions could be enrolled and sent out in array against him: but previous to his departure he commanded Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of whose vigilance and intrepidity he was well assured, to lose no opportunity of strengthening his faction; to hasten the scheme against Cicero, and to prepare for slaughter, conflagration, and all the calamities of war; promising that he would quickly approach the city with a numerous army.

WHILE

WHILE matters were adjusting in this manner at Rome, Quintus Mallius deputed certain of his followers to wait on Quintus Marcius Rex with the following declaration.

“ We call, oh general ! both heaven and earth
“ to witness for us, that our intent in taking up
“ arms was not to injure our country, nor to
“ endanger the life of any individual, but solely
“ on a principle of self preservation ; reduced by
“ the outrage and severity of usurers to the last
“ stage of wretchedness and poverty, we are,
“ many of us, banished from our homes, but
“ all without fortune and ruined in our fame ;
“ nor was it allowed us to avail ourselves of the
“ law for our redress as was customary in former
“ days, nor to preserve our liberty when it was
“ our only treasure ; so cruel were our creditors
“ and the prætor so unjust ! yet our forefathers
“ would attend to the complaints of the poor,
“ and have often cherished them under oppressi-
“ on by the most salutary decrees ; and sure
“ that ordinance must be fresh in all our memo-
“ ries, by which, when their debts were griev-
“ ous on the people, their creditors were con-
“ strained to accept of a compromise, and which
“ was honoured and applauded by every feeling
“ heart.

“ OFTEN too the commonalty has divided
“ against the nobles, and either desirous of power,
“ or

“ or inflamed by the haughtiness of magistracy,
“ withdrawn itself from the city ; but we are nei-
“ ther influenced by ambition nor riches, the ge-
“ neral causes of wars and dissension ; liberty is
“ our object, for it we have taken up arms ; for li-
“ berty which the brave and virtuous prize equal-
“ ly with life !

“ WE beseech thee therefore, and through thee
“ the senate, to compassionate the situation of us
“ miserable citizens, to restore us to our privi-
“ leges and the protection of the laws, and that
“ thou mayst not, by aggravating our piercing
“ distress, lay us under the necessity of only con-
“ sulting how to sell our lives at the dearest
“ rate.”

MARCIUS'S reply to this was short ; he told the deputies if they had a suit to the senate, Rome was the proper place to prefer their supplication—that humanity and compassion were so much the attributes of that assembly and of the the people in general, that redress of injuries was never solicited there in vain.

IN the interim Catiline was pursuing his journey to the camp, and while on his road had dispatched letters to many Romans of consular dignity, and in general to every person of consequence in the state ; in these they were informed, that finding himself unable to cope with a facti-

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on which had loaded him with accusations as criminal as they were unjust, he had submitted to the stroke, and was now on his way to exile at Marseilles; not for that his conscience could upbraid him on the occasion, but because he preferred the peace of Rome to his own justification; and wished not to embroil the publick by a private quarrel.

BUT that this was all falsehood Quintus Catulus made manifest, by reading an epistle in the senate given to him, as he declared, in the name of Catiline, and of which the following is a copy.

CATILINE sends health to CATULUS.

“THY wondrous fidelity so often approved
“and so acceptable to my wishes heretofore, emboldens me to trouble thee in the present emergency: my reason for not attempting to defend this newly adopted plan is, because I determined to give no satisfaction where my feelings teach me I am not chargeable with any crime; and I entreat thee, of all goodness, to believe the truth of my assertions.

“AROUSÉD by the injustice and dishonour I have sustained, in being robbed of the fruits of my dangers and fatigue, and in being deprived of the dignities due to my qualifications, I have made (agreeable to my avowed principles) the cause of the miserable people
“my

“ my own ; and that no man may imagine my
“ embarrassments are any inducement to this un-
“ dertaking, be it remembered, that my means
“ are amply sufficient to exonerate me of all
“ my own debts, while the fondness and genero-
“ of Aurelia Orestilla would free me, out of her’s
“ and her daughter’s proper fortune, from these I
“ have contracted for the relief of others. No—
“ but seeing men thrust into employment who
“ were unworthy of honour, and finding that,
“ misrepresented by slander, I was become obnox-
“ ious to the state, it is therefore that I have pur-
“ sued these measures, made valuable by cir-
“ cumstances, which promise security to my
“ remnant of rank and reputation. I am in-
“ terrupted and cannot add more ; they tell me
“ violence is meditated against me. Let me
“ then only recommend Orestilla’s interest to
“ thee, and intrust her to thy honour ; be, I
“ conjure thee, her guardian and defender, as
“ thou hopest to see thy children happy.—
“ farewell,”

CATILINE was then in the territory of Reate with Caius Flaminius, where he remained a few days arming the inhabitants, who had been gained over to his interest before ; that done he set out for the camp of Mallius, attended by the lictors, and in all the parade of consular power. When this account reached Rome, the senate immediately declared both him and Mallius enemies to the
the

the government ; and limited a time for the other insurgents, within which they might with safety return to their duty, except such of them as were convicted of capital offences. It was further enacted that new levies should be made, that Antony with his army should march against Catiline, and that Cicero should remain for the defence of the city.

It strikes me that at this particular period, all imagined wretchedness of situation must fall short of the real misery of Rome. The whole world was conquered, and all abroad was peace—at home reigned affluence and tranquillity, accounted by many the first blessings of life ; and yet, in the very bowels of their country the miscreants were nourished, who gloomily resolved to stab the womb that gave them birth, tho' their own vitals must be perforated by the blow. For the senate's two decrees produced no good effect ; there was not a man to be found, in so immense a multitude, whom the reward could influence to betray the conspiracy ; nor a soldier who, by the promise of his pardon, could be tempted to desert from Catiline's camp : like as a contagion infects the object it approaches, so fellowship and communication had deeply infixed a principle of rebellion and massacre in each conspirator's breast.

THEY, however, who were privy to the plot were not the only persons whose affection was estranged

estranged from their country ; for the common people, in general, from a desire of novelty, were its advocates : this is a matter of course ; for in every community those who are necessitous hate the virtuous, and applaud the men that are addicted to vice ; change is their wish ; disgusted at their circumstances they are still desirous of alterations ; in tumult and sedition they are subsisted at no risk, for what poverty may be stript of merits little regard.

THESE observations were more than exemplified in the present conduct of the Roman vulgar ; but there were many causes to stimulate the natural propensity : for the city was (if I may so call it) the jakes of corruption : the most infamous and abandoned of every country, all ignominious prodigals, and every houseless vagabond reduced by profligacy and wickedness, were sure to crowd to it as a safe receptacle : many moreover who held in memory the consequences of Sylla's success, who had seen some common soldiers metamorphosed into senators, and others so loaded with wealth as to be enabled to maintain the splendour and dignity of monarchs, persuaded themselves that they too would be equally benefited by war and victory. Again the young husbandmen, whose labour was their only support, allured by the private donations, and publick largesses which were liberally dispensed, deserted the country ; preferring the ease and indolence

dolence of Rome, to a life of precarious industry, and painful toil.

ALL these found their advantage in the public calamity ; nor is to be wondered at that such men, indigent, profligate, and arrogant of expectation, should be void of, all regard for the well-being of the republick, when general tranquillity clashed with their particular interests.

THEY too, whose fathers had been proscribed, whose effects had been plundered, and who had lost the privileges of citizens under Sylla's dictatorship, were all equally sanguine for the events of war ; and to close the account, whoever were of a different party from the senate wished for any distraction which might enhance their own importance, in preference to quiet, which must have sunk them in insignificancy.

THIS vice of competition had, after long banishment from it, at length of late revisited the city. For after the power of the tribunes was restored, in the consulate of Cneius Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, the young men who were elected to that high office, flushed with youth, and daring of spirit, began to inflame the populace by accusations against the senate, to keep their passions alive by presents and promises, and by such measures to acquire both authority and applause. Their intentions were opposed
however

however by most of the nobility, who under colour of vindicating the majesty of the senate were only studious of aggrandizing themselves : for, to speak a short truth, whatever ringleaders of faction stepped forth in those days, tho' they might cloak their ambitious projects under the specious disguises of supporting the people's rights, or establishing the senate's authority, were yet, notwithstanding their plausible pretences, all labouring to compass their own exaltation : while, which ever party prevailed, the state was still the sufferer ; both were equally divested of humanity and moderation ; both exercised their superiority with the most barbarous cruelty.

BUT after Pompey had been sent out to command the fleet ordered against the pirates, and subsequently the army against Mithridates, the power of the people was restrained, that of the nobility was enlarged : the magistracy, the provinces, every thing was at their disposal ; while safe and affluent, they passed their time without care, and by the severity of their edicts so depressed the popular magistrates, that they durst not adventure to form any cabals against them.

BUT now that an opportunity offered for renewing their pretensions, the old leaven began to ferment in every breast ; and indeed if Catiline had proved successful in the first engagement, or even secured himself from defeat, the consequence

quence must have been destruction and misery to the commonwealth. Nor would the victorious rebels have been allowed their triumph long ; no —exhausted and enfeebled, they must have submitted to see their authority wrested from them, with their liberties, by some more powerful usurper.

Soon after Catiline's departure from Rome, many, who knew not of the conspiracy, followed his fortunes ; amongst these was Fulvius a senator's son ; but he, being arrested in his flight, was brought back a prisoner, and suffered death by his father's command.

LENTULUS, meanwhile, pursuant to his instructions from Catiline, was busily engaged in soliciting through the city, either by personal application or the medium of friends, the assistance of all such as their wants or profligacy inclined him to think desirous of a change in the government ; nor were his invitations confined to the citizens alone, but extended, without distinction, to all orders of men, whom he could by any means imagine fit for his purpose. Upon this principle he directed one Publius Umbrenus to seek out the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and, if possible, gain them over to become parties in the war ; he hoped too this would not be difficult to accomplish, for he knew their national debt was heavy as well as that of individuals, and

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that

that the people he had to do with were of a war-like genius.

THIS Umbrenus, as he had often trafficked in Gaul, had formed an acquaintance with most of the leading men there, therefore the instant he beheld the ambassadours in the Forum (after a few general inquiries of the state of their country) as if affected by their troubles, he demanded without hesitation, "Whether they hoped for any redress of their calamities?" To this question when he found they only replied by raving against the avarice of the magistrates, by accusing the senate of injustice which had refused them assistance, and by expressing their despair of relief but in death, of a sudden he exclaims, "Yet I, if you will be men, can point out your deliverance from these dreaded evils;" on hearing this, the Allobroges, elevated by hope, began to supplicate his compassion for their many misfortunes; assuring him, "no danger, no difficulty could oppose, which should not be encountered with cheerfulness, with alacrity, if through them a prospect might be opened of freedom to their state."

THEY were then introduced by Umbrenus into the house of Decius Brutus; both because it was convenient to the scene of conference, and because there the subject could be freely discussed; for Sempronia only was at home, Brutus himself
being

being absent from Rome. Thither he sent for Gabinius to give weight to his harangue: in his presence the whole conspiracy was laid open, the names of the confederates mentioned, and many of all ranks added to the catalogue, (tho' really ignorant of his design,) with a view to gain over the ambassadours to the party: after which having received their assurance of co-operating with the conspirators, he gave them all permission to retire to their houses.

THERE the Allobroges long pondered their future proceedings; on the one hand, the burthen of their debts was grievous, their darling passion for war could be indulged, and victory would be crowned with the most extravagant rewards: but on the other, a more formidable power was to be contended with, their ease and security were to be hazarded, and a certainty of immediate recompense surpassed all shadowy expectation: these considerations were deeply revolved, but the genius of Rome rose triumphant over all; wherefore they disclose to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the principal patron of their people at Rome, the whole plan of the conspiracy as they themselves had learned it. The design was soon imparted by Sanga to Cicero, who directed the ambassadours to affect a particular passion for the enterprise, to attend the assemblies of the conspirators, to promise their utmost aid, and to leave no means untried of becoming full masters of the project.

DISTURBANCES were now, almost all at once, on foot in both the provinces of Gaul, in the Picenian fields, at Bruttium, and in Apulia. For Catiline's adherents, who had been early dispersed up and down, hurried on every thing confusedly, without consideration, and as if possessed by madness : thus by their midnight consultations, their parade of armour and military weapons, their precipitation, and tumultuous meetings, they had only awakened more apprehension than the real danger called for. Many of these were thrown into prison by Quintus Metellus Celer, the prætor, as soon as he was authorized by the senate, s decree ; and others were dealt by in the same manner in the nearer Gaul, by Caius Muræna, who was lieutenant over that province.

BUT at Rome Lentulus, with the other chiefs of the conspiracy, being now sure of such an army as was deemed equal to their views, had determined that soon as Catiline reached the territory of Fætulæ with his forces, Lucius Bestia the tribune should, in a set speech to the people, loudly arraign the conduct of Cicero, and labour to transfer the odium of this dreadful war, from the infernal movers of it to this most upright consul ; and this was to be, as it were, the signal for the conspirators to perform the different parts allotted to them on the following night.

THESE

THESE were said to be cast in the following manner ; Gabinius and Statilius, with a numerous band, were to fire the city in twelve places at once the most easy to be come at ; and the intent of this was that, in the confusion of the flames, the consul and senators who were devoted to destruction might be thrown off their guard, and yield themselves a ready sacrifice : the post of Cethegus was at Cicero's gate ; there his murder was to be perpetrated ; other were to fall by different hands elsewhere : but the descendants of those houses which detested the conspiracy, being mostly the sons of the first nobility, were they who received the mandate of blood ; they were commanded to massacre the authors of their being ! then (when each man's task was executed, and the citizens distracted with the slaughter and conflagration,) to break out of Rome, and join themselves to Catiline.

WHILE these arrangements were making, and such resolves in agitation, Cethegus was ever railing at the backwardness of his companions—
 “ Many opportunities, he said, were forfeited
 “ by their doubts and procrastinations ; at such a
 “ crisis, the hand, not the head, should be at
 “ work ; let a few only appear to escort him,
 “ and he would, in person, rush into the senate,
 “ without waiting for those who were sunk in
 “ supineness.” Naturally outrageous, eager, and
 D 3 prompt

prompt to execute, he was desirous at once to conceive and accomplish.

MEANTIME the Allobroges, as instructed by the consul, convene the conspirators through Gabinius's means: when met they require from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Cassius, that they should subscribe the form of an oath to be transmitted to their nation,—A slighter security, they feared, could not influence them to take up arms: as there was no suspicion of fraud the terms were complied with, Cassius moreover engaged to visit them very shortly, and soon after the ambassadours took their departure from the city: an inhabitant of Croton, called Volturtius, was sent along with them by Lentulus, who was to introduce them to Catiline on their road, and in his presence be witness to a confirmation of the league: by him too he sent a letter to Catiline in the following words;—"The writer of this will
" be known to thee, when thou seest the messenger; be attentive, be vigilant for thou art beset
" with perils, and see that thou behavest with the
" dignity of a man. Weigh well the necessity of
" thy affairs, and seek assistants in every (even
" the lowest) department of life." A verbal message besides was given to this purpose; "When
" he knew himself to be proclaimed an enemy by
" the senate, upon what principle could he decline the aid offered him by the slaves? all his
" directions had been implicitly obeyed at Rome,
" then

“ then why was his coming thus tediously delayed ?”

MATTERS being thus disposed, and the night appointed for their expedition, Cicero, who was informed minutely by the ambassadours, orders Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus, the prætors, to form an ambuscade near the Milvian Bridge*, and to seize the Allobroges with their retinue; he discloses too the nature of the business on which they were to be employed, and gives them a discretionary power of acting as the occasion might require. A military force was also assigned them, with which (having regulated every thing without disturbance) they secretly surrounded the bridge.

As soon as the ambassadours with Volturtius approached the scene of action an immediate shout was set up on all sides, by which the manœuvre being explained to the Gauls, they instantly surrendered themselves to the prætors. Volturtius at first, having attempted to animate his followers, stood upon the defensive and kept off the crowd with his sword; but when he observed the defection of the ambassadours, he fervently besought Pomptinus, (who was of his acquaintance) to preserve his life, and then, affrighted and despairing, as if in the midst of enemies, yielded himself up a prisoner to the prætors. This done, and every thing happily concluded,

* About two miles from Rome.

the account of all was speedily transmitted to the consul.

CICERO experienced, on receiving it, every emotion of solicitude and joy :—of joy, because by the discovery, the dangers which threatened the city were no more ;—of anxiety, in deliberating on the steps he was to take, now that the atrocious guilt of these dignified offenders was manifest beyond denial : should they be punished for their crimes, on him would rest the burden of their punishment ;—should they be passed over without any, the commonwealth must be undone.

THIS last consideration determined him ; wherefore, arming himself with resolution, he orders before him Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, a native of Terracina, whose immediate purpose it was to set out for Apulia, there to raise an insurrection amongst the slaves : the summons for attendance was instantly obeyed by all, save only Ceparius, and he but a little while before had left his habitation, and finding that the conspiracy was divulged fled out of the city.

THE consul himself taking Lentulus by the hand, out of respect to the prætorian dignity with which he was invested, led him, in this manner, into the senate ; the other conspirators he delivered to a guard, with directions to appear in the temple

temple of concord. Thither he convenes the senate, and when the assembly was full, introduces the ambassadours of the Allobroges with Volturtius; ordering moreover Flaccus the prætor, to produce there the casket of letters which he had received from the ambassadours.

VOLTURTIVS, when questioned about his intended expedition, about the papers he carried, and the nature of his designs, at first formed numberless pretences, and dissembled all knowledge of the conspiracy; but, at length, having the publick faith pledged for his security, he makes an ample discovery of the whole proceedings; informs them that he had been, a few days before, inveigled into the confederacy by Gabinius and Cæparius—that the ambassadours knew as much of the business as he, unless it was that the names of Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, and Lucius Vargunteius had escaped them, who were, as he had understood from Gabinius, concerned with many others in the conspiracy.

THE Gauls confirm his account, and convict Lentulus, who still pleaded ignorance of the matter, not only by his handwriting, but also by his general conversation, namely that, by the sybilline prophecies, the government of Rome was destined to three of the Cornelian family—that in Cinna and Sylla the oracle was already so far accomplished, and that he was the third in whom
it

it should be entirely concluded—That he was often heard to say this was the twentieth year from the burning of the capitol, which was to be (as the soothsayers reported from many portentous observations) a period marked by civil war, by blood and desolation.

EVASION and denial were now in vain, wherefore when the reading of the letters was finished, and each man had avowed his own signature, the senate decreed that Lentulus should be stripped of his authority, and, with the other conspirators, put under restraint, but not as common malefactors: in consequence, Lentulus was given in charge to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who then was ædile, Cethegus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæsar, Gabinius to Marcus Crassus, and Ceparius, whose escape had been prevented, and who was some time before brought back to Rome, to Cneius Terentius the senator.

MEANTIME when these transactions were noised abroad, the people, who fond of innovations had been in the beginning clamorous for war, now suddenly changed their tone, and, while Catiline was pursued with execrations, the praises and applause of Cicero resounded from every tongue. Feeling as if they were delivered from bondage, all was transport and extravagance of joy. While they looked for the ordinary events of such commotions, the advantages that might accrue more than

than balanced their apprehensions of injury ; but to fire the city was, they thought, a resolution full of barbarity, quite out of nature, and fraught with tenfold misery to them, whose little household necessaries, and slender wardrobes, constituted the whole of their worldly fortunes.

THE day following one Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the senate, whom his captors declared they had secured on his way to join Catiline ; when this man offered to make information under an engagement of safety and protection, he was commanded by the consul to speak on those conditions, and gave nearly the same detail with Volturtius of the intended conflagration, of the scheme of murder, and of the insurgents being in motion towards the city. He added, moreover, that he had a commission from Marcus Crassus to Catiline, the purport of which was to animate him under the misfortune that had befallen Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, and to hasten on that account his approach to the city ; as he would thus restore the drooping spirits of his adherents who were yet at large, and be enabled to snatch the prisoners from captivity and death.

AT the sound of the name of Crassus in such an affair, one of the first, the wealthiest, and most powerful of the nobility, the auditors found themselves variously affected ; some thought the
tale

tale unworthy of belief; others, however, had their reasons to give an ear to it, but all were sensible that lenitives, not corrosives, were fit applications for such a wound: therefore many who were bound to him by the ties of private obligation, exclaimed, at once, that the informer was a liar, and demanded the suffrages of the senate on the occasion. These were taken by the advice, and upon a motion of Cicero's, and it was then determined, in a crowded assembly, that Tarquinius's charge appeared false and groundless, that himself should be held a close prisoner, and on no account be restored to liberty again, unless he made known the name of that person, who had suborned him to propagate so dangerous a falsehood.

SOME people of those days imagined this accusation was entirely planned by Publius Autronius, as thinking, that when, by the impeachment of Crassus, he was brought in to share the common danger, his authority and influence would be sufficient to extricate them all. Others thought that Tarquinius had his lesson from Cicero; he knew that it was Crassus's constant rule to patronise and plead for the dissolute and abandoned; and it was now his purpose to find him such employment at home, as would effectually debar him from embroiling the state by becoming an advocate for any of the conspirators.

I MYSELF have been witness to Crassus's publick declarations some time after, in which he asserted that Cicero gave rise to this calumny so very injurious to his name and character : yet at this very period, neither Quintus Catulus, nor Caius Piso could, by the influence of friendship, of entreaties, or rewards, prevail upon the consul to have Cæsar falsely impeached by the ambassadours of the Gauls, or by any other informant : this they wished to have done as they were his rooted enemies ; Piso, because of the opposition given him by Cæsar on his trial for bribery, by which he had been wrought upon to inflict an unjust punishment on an inhabitant of the country beyond the Po ; Catulus, ever since he had been foiled in his suit for the pontificate, for to this dignity, tho' but a young man, Cæsar was elected in preference to him, whose years were many, and who had filled with reputation every department of the state, and thence it was that he pursued him with unremitting hatred : the time too seemed to favour such an allegation, because his private extraordinary liberality and his lavish publick munificence had not a little embarrassed Cæsar's affairs.

FINDING, however, that all their endeavours to engage the consul in such a scheme of villany were fruitless, they industriously made particular personal applications every where, and by circulating their own inventions for the discoveries of

Volturtius

Volturtius and the Allobroges, they had given a very terrible impression of Cæsar. Nay so high was this carried that certain Roman knights, who were stationed under arms round the temple of Concord, either roused by the impending danger, or fired with an enthusiasm of courage to evidence their fond attachment to their parent country, even pointed their weapons at Cæsar's breast as he passed on from the senate.

MEANTIME, while that assembly was thus employed, and in determining on the rewards to be allotted to Volturtius and the Gauls for their useful and exact intelligence, the freedmen of Lentulus, with a few of his clients, were assiduous for his interest in different quarters of the city, and by openly soliciting the mechanicks and slaves, attempted to raise an insurrection in his favour ; others sought out the ringleaders of the mob, miscreants ready for hire to enter into every disturbance, with a view to bribe them over to his cause. Cethegus also sent out emissaries amongst his friends and freedmen, whom he had selected for their intrepidity and trained to his designs, to beseech them to unite in one firm body, and armed for the purpose, force their passage to his prison. As soon as these preparations were signified to the consul, he ordered such a guard as the time and circumstances required, and then, having assembled the senators, refers to them, for their final determination on the conspirators

conspirators fate ; for some time before, in a very full house, they had been all declared deadly enemies to the commonwealth.

IN course, Decius Junius Silamus as consul elect, being first asked his opinion as well with regard to the prisoners, as to Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius when secured, made answer then, that he was for capital punishment ; but afterwards Cæsar's speech caused an alteration in his sentiments, and the power of his arguments brought him over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who declared for doubling the guards as a necessary precaution, and for weighing the matter with temper, and further deliberation.

BUT Cæsar, when it came to his turn to speak, replied to the consul's question in the following words—

“ THOSE who are appointed, conscript fathers,
“ to sit in judgment on affairs of intricacy,
“ should be careful to give no place in their
“ thoughts, to hatred, to friendship, to anger,
“ or compassion : truth is difficultly explored,
“ while these impede the mental search : the
“ dictates of reason, and the dictates of the
“ passions, are incompatible movements and never were at once obeyed. Let the rational faculties be exerted and their decision will be
“ sure

64 THE CATILINE WAR.

“ sure ; do the passions interfere ? the judgment
 “ is at their mercy, and the discerning spirit con-
 “ fesses their sway.

“ My observations might be exemplified, con-
 “ script fathers, if needful, in the conduct of ma-
 “ ny monarchs, and the histories of whole nati-
 “ ons, who, precipitated by indignation, or de-
 “ luded by pity, have in consequence been actu-
 “ ated by the most erroneous councils ; but I
 “ choose rather to illustrate them by showing
 “ where our ancestors, repressing these impulses,
 “ made wisdom their guide, and thus determined
 “ on the principles of dispassionate reason.

“ In our wars with Perſes King of Macedon,
 “ the city of Rhodes—that great and opulent
 “ city,—that city which had been aggrandized
 “ by the protection and patronage of Rome, de-
 “ ferted our cause and associated with the foe :
 “ yet when victory declared against it, and pun-
 “ ishment was under consideration, our forefa-
 “ thers deemed it prudent to remit the penalty,
 “ lest malice might misrepresent the occasion of
 “ this war, and report it undertaken for pillage
 “ and not from provocation.

“ In all the disputes with Carthage their beha-
 “ viour was the same ; in the days of general tran-
 “ quillity, or during a cessation of arms, the Car-
 “ thaginians have been often guilty of the most
 “ notorious

“notorious irregularities, yet our ancestors would
 “not retort upon them when the means were in
 “their power. It was their study to preserve the
 “Roman dignity, rather than to consult the laws
 “of retaliation.

“YE stand now, conscript fathers, in the same
 “delicate predicament, and ye must be careful
 “lest the wickedness of Lentulus and his confede-
 “rates make a deeper impression on your minds
 “than can your own dignity, and lest you sacri-
 “fice to your resentment your honour and good
 “name: for if any of you can devise a new species
 “of punishment which may reach the enormity
 “of the intended crime, I am in that man’s bo-
 “som, and his doctrine shall be mine; but if every
 “mode of vengeance must fall short of the of-
 “fence, I hold it best to be regulated by the laws
 “now in being.

“MANY of those who have delivered their
 “sentiments on the present occasion have la-
 “mented in the most elegant and expressive lan-
 “guage the dreadful calamities that menaced the
 “state. The horrors of war, with the miseries of
 “the vanquished, have been portrayed at large,
 “in a very affecting picture: in this we have seen
 “chaste virgins violated and virtuous youths de-
 “filed,—the helpless infants torn from the un-
 “happy mothers embrace, herself the victim of
 “brutal lust,—the temples of the deities sacrile-

“giously pillaged, and private habitations ransacked by ruffians,—every quarter full of carnage and red with conflagration, and to finish the piece, the whole has been crowded with arms, lifeless bodies, murder, and every exhibition of wo !

“But, just heaven ! why all this heightening of the imagery ? can it be with a view to impress an hatred of the conspiracy ? what then —shall this colouring inflame those passions, which the sense of such an atrocious villany could not move ? this is an absurdity :—the full force of an injury is felt by the sufferer, and, in many of us, the fancy adds a weight to the blow ; but all have not the same liberty of manifesting their sensibility. The passionate excesses of the poor and lowly reach not beyond a contracted circle, as indigent as obscure, they are unnoticed and unknown : but the rulers of a mighty empire are eminently conspicuous, and must attract the attention of mankind ; therefore the more distinguished the situation the more guarded should be the conduct ; neither influenced by favour, nor warped by malignity, but above all things entirely divested of rage ; what might pass for simple passion in an inferior character, will be called arrogance and barbarity in the governours of a state.

“CONSCRIPT

" CONSCRIPT fathers, I declare it my settled
 " opinion, that no cunning torture can be pro-
 " portionate to the crime; but let us consider
 " how the latest transactions dwell upon the me-
 " mory, and how, when villains are brought to
 " justice, if their punishment is strained, most
 " people (such is the weakness of humanity) lose
 " sight of the offence, while they are given up to
 " reflections on the severity of the law.

" I AM satisfied that Decius Silanus has spoken
 " on this subject as a real regard for his country
 " dictated; he is a man of bravery and virtue,
 " and would not, in so momentous a concern,
 " permit either friendship or malignity to bias his
 " judgment;—such ever was his uprightness, and
 " such his moderation! if I differ from him there-
 " fore, it is not because the sentence he would
 " pass upon the conspirators is too cruel, (for
 " what can be cruelty in so flagrant a cause?) but
 " because it appears to be a decision not warrant-
 " ed by the constitution of Rome.

" IT seems evident then that thou Silanus, the
 " consul elect, hast been wrought upon by thy ap-
 " prehension, or stimulated by the meditated vil-
 " lany, to determine for a punishment unknown
 " to our laws: now as to the dread of the mis-
 " chief, that is out of the question, when such
 " numerous guards are provided for our security,
 " by the ready vigilance of our most excellent

“ consul ;—but on the punishment in agitation I
“ can make a few pertinent remarks ; the mourn-
“ ner and the man of misery welcome death with-
“ out repining, then looking for the period of all
“ their woes ; at his approach the ills of huma-
“ nity disappear, let the grave be once passed,
“ and joy and sorrow are no more. Then, gra-
“ gracious gods ! why not aggravate the horrors
“ of this sentence by ordering the criminals to be
“ scourged before execution ? is it because the
“ the Portian law is express against such proceed-
“ ings ? well then, and are there not also other
“ laws in force, by which the lives of condemned
“ citizens are secured from injury, and banish-
“ ment the penalty inflicted for their crimes ? or
“ is it because that an ignominious scourging ap-
“ pears to be more barbarous than death itself ?
“ then to this objection I reply that no species
“ of torment can exceed the demerits of such
“ desperate offenders. But if thou thinkest that
“ stripes are a gentler chastisement, why act un-
“ der legal restraint in a matter of less import-
“ ance, when thou settest all law at defiance in
“ one of so much greater ?

“ But who, sayst thou, will venture to con-
“ demn a publick resolution against such notorious
“ parricides ?—why grant that now it may escape
“ censure, yet circumstances will alter, time will
“ produce changes, and the whimsies of fortune,
“ which make the world their sport, may usher
“ in

" in opinions of a very different complexion.
 " Determine as you will on the matter now be-
 " fore you, the sentence, conscript fathers, can-
 " not be severe ; but see that you establish no
 " precedents which may be dangerous hereafter.
 " All examples of a destructive tendency are ori-
 " ginated upon just grounds, but when power is
 " transferred from the wise and good to the ig-
 " norant and vicious, this precedent established
 " by the former will be made use of by the latter,
 " not against real offenders, but against the inno-
 " cent and just.

" WHEN the Lacedemonians had subdued the
 " people of Athens, they appointed over them
 " thirty rulers, for the purpose of managing the
 " state. These new governours began the exer-
 " cise of their authority by inflicting capital pu-
 " nishment on all notorious and detested crimi-
 " nals, without troubling themselves with any
 " formality of trial ; and this proceeding pleased
 " the Athenians, and seemed agreeable to right.
 " But when, by gradual encroachments on the
 " constitution, they had strengthened their own
 " illegal power, both good and bad, without dis-
 " tinction, were brought to execution, while the
 " survivors were awed into the most submissive
 " acquiescence ; and thus the city (now reduced
 " to an abject state of slavery) paid the heaviest
 " forfeit for its absurd and shortlived joy.

“ AGAIN, to speak of things within our own
 “ remembrance, when Sylla proved victorious,
 “ and gave orders for the assassination of Dama-
 “ sippus, and others of his stamp, who owed their
 “ greatness to their country’s ruin, did not every
 “ voice resound his praise ? these abandoned and
 “ seditious citizens, whose turbulence had occa-
 “ sioned such distractions in the commonwealth,
 “ were given up by all as most worthy of death :
 “ yet this was, as it were, a signal for universal
 “ slaughter ; for whenever his neighbour’s house,
 “ his villa, his plate, or apparel, caught any man’s
 “ fancy, that instant he took his measures to have
 “ him proscribed ; and thus they who had exulted
 “ in the destruction of Damasippus were soon af-
 “ ter dragged to execution themselves ; nor did
 “ the carnage cease until the pillage had glutted
 “ all Sylla’s partisans.

“ ’Tis true, there is no reason to dread such
 “ consequences under the auspices of Cicero, nor
 “ at this day ; but amongst the inhabitants of a
 “ populous city the strangest variety of disposi-
 “ tions will appear : in future times, and under a
 “ consul of a different complexion, backed by an
 “ army devoted to his will, invention may be
 “ busy and its fictions pass for truth : then when
 “ the consul, (authorized by a decree of the se-
 “ nate under sanction of this precedent) shall
 “ have drawn the sword, where will there be a
 “ man

“ man found hardy enough to sheath it? who
 “ will adventure to restrain his rage?

“ OUR ancestors, conscript fathers, were nei-
 “ ther deficient in prudence nor bravery, nor ever
 “ influenced by foolish pride to reject the useful
 “ institutes of other countries; their arms and
 “ military apparatus were fashioned after those
 “ of the Samnites, the badges of civil power bor-
 “ rowed from the Tuscans, and in a word, any
 “ measures, either of their friends or foes, which
 “ appeared conducive to the interests of their res-
 “ pective states, they adopted with eagerness, and
 “ cultivated with affection; chusing rather by
 “ imitation to make them their own, than to in-
 “ dulse an envious propensity void of improve-
 “ ment.

“ BUT in those days a pernicious custom was
 “ copied from the Greeks; by this they were in-
 “ structed to scourge their fellow citizens, and to
 “ punish the condemned with death: to this it
 “ was owing that, when the nation became power-
 “ ful, and the numerous inhabitants gave weight
 “ to the different factions, many innocent people
 “ fell victims to this iniquitous law, and under it
 “ the most crying enormities were continually
 “ perpetrated: to remedy these grievances, the
 “ Portian, and others were framed, and by them
 “ the sentence, after conviction, is settled for ba-
 “ nishment.

“ HERE

“ HERE is a circumstance, conscript fathers,
 “ which seems, in my opinion, particularly restric-
 “ tive of novel proceedings : for it must be grant-
 “ ed that virtue and wisdom shone with bright-
 “ er lustre in them, who raised themselves from
 “ insignificancy to so vast an empire, than they do
 “ in us who can scarce maintain the possessions so
 “ nobly acquired.

“ I may be asked then “ would I have them
 “ released from prison, and thus make over so
 “ many additional forces to Catiline ?” upon no
 “ account,—but this is my advice on the occa-
 “ sion ; let their effects be forfeited to the trea-
 “ sury, themselves kept close prisoners in the
 “ strongest municipal towns,—let no one, in
 “ future, plead their cause before the senate, nor
 “ attempt to influence the people in their favour,
 “ and should any man act in opposition to such
 “ determination, let him be decreed an enemy
 “ to the government and to general security.—”

Thus ended Cæsar, while a buzz of applause,
 and other signs of satisfaction declared the assent
 of numbers in the senate, until Marcus Portius
 Cato, being required to speak, delivered himself
 in the following strain.—

“ AFTER well weighing the present circum-
 “ stances and the impending danger, and after
 “ maturely considering the doctrine of some in
 “ this

“ this house, I must declare myself, conscript fathers, against this proposition of Cæsar’s : dissertations on the mode of punishing these criminals,—these criminals who have plotted the ruin of their country, the destruction of those who gave them being, the downfall of their religion, and the extirpation of their families, have hitherto, as I think, taken up most of your attention : but prudence cries loudly for measures of precaution ; on these let us debate, and not on the forms of death ; inflict your penalties for all other crimes, when the perpetration of them is made known ; but of this one it is the commission which must be guarded against ; the deed once done, away with vengeance ! the tribunals of justice will redress no more ; the inhabitants of a plundered city are stript of their all, they are left without remedy, they have no resource.”

“ BUT in the name of the immortal gods ! let me address myself to you all, who have ever been accustomed to prize your palaces, your villas, your images, your paintings, and your gorgeous apparel, at an higher rate than you have done your country ; and let me entreat of you, if you wish to continue to yourselves these enjoyments (let the nature of them be as it may) or if it be your desire to find leisure for the gratification of your senses, to rouse yourselves at last, and take some thought for the
“ commonwealth

“ commonwealth. This is no paltry debate
“ about our tribute withheld—this is not an ar-
“ gument in regard to any injuries done our
“ friends; No—our liberties—our lives them-
“ selves are at stake.

“ I HAVE often, conscript fathers, delivered
“ my sentiments before you to this purpose; often
“ have I lamented the depraved condition of our
“ fellow citizens, whom luxury and avarice have
“ entirely subdued, and many are the enemies
“ my complaints have raised against me: I who
“ never indulged myself in the commission of any
“ trivial fault, could not easily be wrought upon
“ to overlook the flagrant transgressions of ano-
“ ther; and on these occasions altho’ my remon-
“ strances were neglected and forgotten, yet still
“ the state maintained its vigour; our amazing
“ opulence countenanced a temporary heedlessness:
“ but now the question to be agitated is not,
“ whether purity or corruption of morals be our
“ characteristicks, not how extensive, or how
“ magnificent the Roman empire may be, no—it
“ is simply whether we are to enjoy it such as it
“ is, or whether, with our persons, it is to become
“ the possession of our foes?

“ Now is there any one who, on the present oc-
“ casion, preaches up mildness or mercy? I answer
“ him that it is a considerable time since we have
“ lost the real meaning of words; for to bestow
“ another’s

“ another’s property is now most unjustly stiled
“ generosity ; while steadiness in villany passes
“ for consummate bravery ; to such an extremity
“ of wickedness is our state reduced !

“ WELL, let these advocates for clemency
“ (since such is the complexion of their morals)
“ squander at their pleasure the fortune of their
“ allies ; let them exhaust their compassion on
“ the pillagers of the publick treasury ; but let
“ them be careful how they proceed to lavish
“ our blood, and while their mistaken feelings
“ prompt them to save a few desperadoes, let
“ them guard against the destruction of every
“ good and virtuous citizen.

“ CÆSAR’S dissertation on the subjects of life
“ and death (as just delivered within this house)
“ was both happily conceived and elegantly ex-
“ pressed, but it strikes me that he considers our
“ traditions of the infernal regions as founded
“ in fiction and the offspring of falsehood ; as
“ for example, that the wicked are there separat-
“ ed from the good, and that their residence is
“ gloomy, desert, loathsome, and shocking to
“ behold.

“ His opinion then is, that the conspirators
“ effects should be confiscated, and themselves
“ held in custody in the different municipal
“ towns ; as fearing, I suppose, if they were kept
“ prisoners

76 THE CATILINE WAR.

“ prisoners at Rome, that either their accomplices
 “ in the plot, or an hired band of ruffians, might
 “ find means, by violence, to set them at large.

“ BUT this precaution must seem very peculiar,
 “ since it imagines that our capital alone harbours
 “ all the vile and abandoned of our nation ; that
 “ no such miscreants are dispersed through the
 “ Italian states, and that desperate boldness could
 “ less easily effect its purpose, where defence must
 “ be weaker against its attacks ; therefore his
 “ scheme is idle if he apprehends any danger
 “ from the conspirators : but if, on the contrary,
 “ he alone is undaunted in so general a conster-
 “ nation, the greater is my call to be timorously
 “ circumspect for my own and your safeties.

“ WHEREFORE, when you determine on Len-
 “ tulus's and his confederates fate, be assured of
 “ it that you decide at the same time on the army
 “ of Catiline, and each individual of the conspi-
 “ racy : in proportion to the eagerness you dis-
 “ play in this business their confidence and cou-
 “ rage will be abashed and destroyed ; let them
 “ have but the smallest intimation of your irre-
 “ solution and at once they will press on you with
 “ violence and outrage.

“ THINK not that our ancestors, by the power
 “ of their arms alone, exalted this republick from
 “ meanness to magnificence ; if that was the case

“ we should be able to aggrandize it infinitely
 “ more ; since our allies are more numerous, the
 “ number of our citizens increased, and our arms
 “ and horses in greater abundance than they could
 “ boast of. But there were other circumstances
 “ which conduced to their greatness and renown,
 “ circumstances with which we are totally unac-
 “ quainted.—They were industriously atten-
 “ tive to their domestick concerns at home, while
 “ abroad their dominion was maintained on the
 “ principles of equity and justice ; in all determi-
 “ nations of moment their souls were free and
 “ unconfined, neither biased by error, nor influ-
 “ enced by passion.

“ BUT to such a mode of conduct we are abso-
 “ lute strangers ; luxury and avarice oppress us—
 “ our state is impoverished, while the individuals
 “ of it are enriched ; wealth is our idol, and in-
 “ dolence our happiness ; all distinctions between
 “ the righteous and the wicked are abolished,
 “ while ambition grasps the rewards once paid to
 “ virtue alone : nor is all this to be wondered at,
 “ since ye consult separately only your own in-
 “ terests ; since ye indulge in a profusion of lux-
 “ ury in your houses, and here are determined
 “ by bribery or connection : these are the causes
 “ of this attempt on our defenceless country.

“ BUT this is not a time for reflections of this
 “ nature ; some of the first of our nobility have
 “ conspired

“ conspired against the state,—they apply to the
 “ Gauls, the most inveterate enemies of the Ro-
 “ man name, to become their associates in the
 “ enterprize,—their general at the head of his
 “ army is at hand ; and do you still hesitate, and
 “ continue doubtful how to act by such of your
 “ deadly foes as you have seized within your
 “ walls ?

“ YOUR compassion, I suppose, is at work !
 “ ambition’s gilded bait has allured a few hot
 “ blooded youths, and so you would chuse to
 “ set them at large even under arms ! but mark
 “ whether this misplaced tenderness, and mistaken
 “ pity, may not, should they once appear in the
 “ field against you, turn out the sources of
 “ your eternal wo ! or say that the matter appears
 “ to be pregnant with misfortune, your courage
 “ rises superiour ! you fear it not ! Ay you do fear
 “ it—fear it to excess ; but your sloth and effe-
 “ minacy have destroyed all firmness of mind,
 “ and you eye one another in doubt and dis-
 “ may.

“ OR it may be you fix your confidence in the
 “ immortal deities, who have often afforded this
 “ state their protection on the most trying occa-
 “ sions ; but it is not by idle vows and woman-
 “ ish supplications that the assistance of heaven
 “ can be obtained : vigilance, activity, and pru-
 “ dent

“dent counsel, ensure success to the pursuits of
 “mankind,—where indolence and inactivity have
 “taken possession of you the aid of the gods will
 “be implored in vain;—their ears are shut a-
 “gainst such supplicants, they will not attend to
 “their complaints.

“In former times, when we were at war with
 “the Gauls, Titus Manlius Torquatus ordered
 “his own son to be put to death for encounter-
 “ing the enemy contrary to express orders; and
 “the illustrious youth (because he was too brave)
 “suffered all the penalties of this bitter sentence;
 “and are you under any doubt how to determine
 “upon such atrocious parricides?

“PERHAPS you may object their former con-
 “duct and behaviour as a palliation of the crime
 “in which they are now engaged; well then be
 “tender of the dignity of Lentulus, if he himself
 “ever manifested regard for his chastity or good
 “name,—if he ever acquitted himself with justice
 “to man, or with respect to the gods:—Com-
 “passionate Cethegus’s early years, if it does not
 “appear that this is the second time he has war-
 “red upon his country. What occasion is there
 “to speak of Gabinius, Statilius, or Ceparius?
 “surely if ever consideration had a place in their
 “thoughts, they could not possibly have linked
 “themselves to this infernal conspiracy.—

‘To

“ To conclude, conscript fathers, was there
“ indeed any room for a false step in this business
“ I would, since you pay no attention to my
“ words, readily suffer you to be chastized by a
“ real visitation ; but this can’t be without ge-
“ neral ruin, for we are surrounded with dan-
“ gers and difficulties on every side. Catiline
“ with his army presses on through the avenues of
“ our city ; there are others of our enemies with-
“ in the walls, nay within the very recesses of
“ Rome ; no arrangements can be made, no con-
“ sultations held, which will not be immediately
“ divulged, and on all these accounts I think that
“ dispatch is doubly necessary.

“ I GIVE it therefore as my settled opinion,
“ (since thro’ the inhuman machinations of some
“ impious citizens the existence of our republick
“ is in the most imminent jeopardy, and since
“ Titus Volturtius, the ambassadours of the Gauls,
“ and their own confessions, have amply evidenced
“ their horrid purposes of invading their fellow
“ citizens and native country, with fire, the
“ sword, and all the calamities of war,) that the
“ acknowledgement of their crimes put them on
“ a footing with capital convicts, and that, after
“ the manner of our forefathers, they should be
“ punished with death.”

WHEN Cato was seated, all the senators of con-
sular dignity, and indeed the majority of the as-
sembly

sembly approved in the warmest manner of his opinion. The virtues of his soul were applauded to the skies, while they upbraided one another with their own pusillanimity. All honour and esteem were lavished upon him, and a decree was passed pursuant to his counsel.

Now as I had read often and heard much of the Romans glorious achievements, both in peace and war, both by sea and land, I thought it not unworthy my attention to consider, upon what principle they were enabled to display so much excellence. I knew that a small body of their troops had frequently maintained a conflict with the most numerous armies; I was sensible that tedious wars had been supported against powerful monarchs with an handful of men; moreover, that they had often experienced the outrages of fortune, that the Greeks were more renowned for their eloquence, and that the Gauls surpassed them in the knowledge of war. Ruminating deeply upon these circumstances, I, at length, became satisfied, that the wonderful abilities of only a few citizens had procured them the illustrious character they bore, that to these it was owing that poverty rose superiour to riches, and that the distinction of numbers in battle should be of no avail.

BUT when the state became infected by indolence and luxury, the republick, now grown opulent

pulent and mighty, was enabled in its turn to sustain the profligacy of its magistrates and rulers ; and indeed (as if the womb which gave them birth was exhausted) no instances of the old heroic virtue occurred at Rome in a very long period.

IN my time, however, two men appeared of the most singular excellence tho' different in their dispositions, and these were Marcus Cato and Caius Cæsar. Since the course of my work offered this opportunity, I determined not to pass them over in silence, but on the contrary to display, to the best of my abilities, the mind and morals of them both.

To begin then, they were nearly on an equality with regard to their families, years, and eloquence : each possessed the same greatness of soul, each was honoured and applauded as much as the other, still however upon different principles. Cæsar was generous and munificent, and thence his renown ; Cato was venerated for integrity of life. His mild and compassionate temper distinguished the one ; the austerity of his manners stamped a dignity on the other. Cæsar's largesses, generous aid of the distressed, and forgiveness of injuries rendered him illustrious, while Cato's frugality procured him both honour and applause. The miserable were certain of a refuge in the one, the wicked of the punishment

punishment they merited from the other. Cæsar's humanity, Cato's inflexibility was praised.

CÆSAR, in a word, had made it the rule of his conduct to spare neither pains nor vigilance when called on, nor to suffer his own concerns to come into competition with those of his friends; refusing no request where the favour sought for was worthy of the donor, and anxiously expecting some eminent appointment, an army at his command, and a fresh war, wherein his courage, and the virtues of his soul might shine with genuine lustre. Cato's attention was fixed upon temperance and decorum, but above every thing else upon severity of manners; he contended not who was wealthiest with the rich; he disputed not with the seditious on the score of faction; but he was emulous to outstrip the man of virtue; he vied with the reserved in purity of life, and with the most upright in forbearance from ill. It was his wish rather to be than to appear good, and thus the less anxious he was after glory, the more easily it became his.

THE senate having, as was related, determined by Cato's advice, the consul deemed it prudent to make sure of the approaching night, lest advantage should be taken of it for any novel attempt; and therefore he directed the triumviri to get every thing in readiness for the intended execution. This done, and a guard disposed

all around, he himself led Lentulus into the prison, while the prætors performed the same office by the rest.

THERE is a cell within this house which is named after King Tullus, a little to the left of the entrance, and sunk about twelve feet below the level of the ground: strong walls surround it on every side, and the covering of the roof is an arch of stone, but it is loathsome from its stench, and horrible to the view, from the wretchedness and gloom which encompass it about. When Lentulus was let down into it, the executioners below, who had received their mandate, immediately strangled him; and thus this patrician, descended from the illustrious race of the Cornelii, who had been honoured with the dignity of the Roman consulate, met with that death of which his life and actions proclaimed him to be most worthy. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius, all underwent the same punishment.

While such were the transactions within the city, Catiline was forming two legions out of all his forces, as well those he had brought into the field himself, as the others collected by Mallius: the cohorts he filled up according to the number of his soldiers, then as either volunteers, or any of his associates arrived in the camp, they were equally distributed amongst the cohorts; and thus in a short time his legions were completed,

ed, altho' at first his army was scarcely two thousand strong: but not more than the fourth part of these troops was properly armed; all the rest carried either darts, lances, or sharp stakes, just as chance had furnished them to their hands.

WHEN Antonius approached with his army, Catiline retreated through the mountains, pitching his camp at one time nearer the city, at other times removing it towards Gaul, still taking care to afford the enemy no opportunity of engaging him. He was full of the expectation that he should be quickly joined by very numerous forces, if his confederates in Rome had once accomplished their design: meantime he rejected all the tenders of service offered him by the slaves, who on the first rumour of the conspiracy had crowded to his standard; for he thought the association he had formed sufficient for his purpose, and imagined that he might appear inconsistent in his measures, should he confound the cause of the Roman citizens, with that of a band of fugitive slaves.

BUT as soon as a messenger brought the news to his camp that all the scheme of wickedness was made known at Rome, and that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others I have named were capitally punished; most of his followers (whom the prospect of plunder, or the desire of novelty had allured to his standard) dispersed and slunk away;

the few who continued faithful Catiline led on, by forced marches, through mountains scarcely passable, to the territory of Pistorium; thinking that he should be able to escape thence, through byways, into Gaul.

BUT Quintus Metellus Celer, who commanded in the Picenian fields with three legions, well acquainted with the straits to which he was reduced, conceived at once that this would be his plan; and therefore, when the deserters informed him that Catiline had begun his march, on the instant he hastily broke up his encampment, and sat down at the very foot of the mountains on that spot over which he must necessarily pass, if he meant to accomplish his flight into Gaul: neither was Antonius at a great distance on the other side, considering that his army was so numerous and embarrassing; but then, he had the advantage of better ground to pursue the fugitives, than they had for their escape.

IT was then that Catiline, when he saw himself hemmed in by the mountains and the enemy, when he found that all his measures were defeated at Rome, and that there was no further prospect of flight nor chance of succour, determined to engage in battle with Antonius, as having no resource, on such an emergency but, in the fortune of war.

HE

HE therefore summoned an assembly of his people, and made known his sentiments to them in the following words.

“ I KNOW it for a truth, my fellow soldiers,
 “ that the most finished exhortations must fail of
 “ implanting courage in the human breast, and
 “ that the disposition of an army cannot be
 “ changed from slothful to active, from cowardly
 “ to valiant, by all the laboured orations of the
 “ commander. Agreeable to each man’s portion
 “ of bravery, either natural or acquired, will be
 “ his conduct in the day of battle; but him,
 “ whom neither glory nor difficulties can incite,
 “ you will attempt to arouse by admonition in
 “ vain; overpowered by fright and apprehension
 “ he hears you not.

“ My purpose then of calling you together, is
 “ only to give you my advice on certain points,
 “ and at the same time to lay before you the mo-
 “ tives for my present determination.

“ You are no strangers already, my fellow sol-
 “ diers, to the terrible disasters in which the in-
 “ dolence and hesitation of Lentulus has involved
 “ both himself and us; nor is it unknown to you
 “ how I have been disabled from proceeding into
 “ Gaul, while fruitless expectation of assistance
 “ detained me nigh to Rome; and now too you
 “ must

88 THE CATILINE WAR.

“ must be sensible, as fully as I am, of the desperate situation of our affairs.

“ Two armies of the enemy press upon us, one from the city, the other on the side of Gaul: we cannot continue longer in these parts, even tho’ it should be our eagereſt wiſh; for the ſcarcity of forage, and a deficiency of the neceſſaries of life, would oppoſe our intentions; whitherſoever we reſolve to turn ourſelves a paſſage muſt be laid open with our ſwords; and it is therefore my counſel, that you be reſolute and prepared, and that, in the enſuing engagement, you all bear in memory, that not only your riches, honour, and renown depend on the ſtrength of your right arms, but alſo (more valuable by far) your liberties and your country.

“ If victory declares for us, all our wiſhes will be gratified; provisions will be abundantly ſupplied us, the colonies and municipal towns will open their gates: do we ſhrink back in diſmay? none of theſe things ſhall be ours; no harbour, no friendship will offer to him, who could not approve himſelf his own defender in the field.

“ Obſerve too, my fellow ſoldiers, that our enemies will not have inducements equally powerful with ours to exert themſelves; we contend for our country, for freedom, for life;
“ they

“ they fight to establish the dominion of a few
“ usurping rulers ; can they be but lukewarm in
“ such a cause ? be vigorous then in your onset,
“ and let this consideration rekindle the flame
“ of your former valour.

“ WE might doubtless heretofore have secured
“ our lives, but it must have been in perpetual
“ banishment, and this banishment accompanied
“ with eternal infamy : or some of you, tho’ im-
“ poverished, might have supported existence at
“ Rome, by a vile dependance on the affluence
“ of others ; but your free spirits not brooking
“ this base, this abominable alternative, the course
“ you have pursued became your dearest choice.

“ Now, if you would wish to be extricated
“ from the surrounding difficulties, and to make
“ advantageous terms for yourselves, it is incum-
“ bent upon you to act with the most undaunt-
“ ed resolution ; a satisfactory and honourable
“ peace was never yet at the option of any but
“ the conquerours : for surely it must argue an
“ extravagance of folly, to hope for security in
“ an ignominious flight ; or for safety, when you
“ decline the use of those arms which should
“ serve for your defence against the assailant.
“ The most cowardly are the most exposed in the
“ day of battle ; but courage is a bulwark a-
“ gainst every danger.

“ WHEN

90 THE CATILINE WAR.

“ WHEN I contemplate your characters, my
 “ fellow soldiers, and reflect on your many deeds
 “ of renown, my hopes are elevated, and aspire
 “ to victory; your determined souls, your bloom-
 “ ing age, your heroick bravery confirm my re-
 “ solution, and my expectations borrow aid from
 “ even our difficulties, they convert the coward
 “ himself into an hero: besides we have to con-
 “ sider that tho’ we are inferiour in number, the
 “ straitness of the ground forbids our enemies to
 “ avail themselves of their superiority. But
 “ should fortune refuse invidiously to crown your
 “ magnanimity, see that you perish not unre-
 “ venged! yield not to be butchered like cattle
 “ for the slaughter, no, chuse rather to fall like
 “ heroes in the field, leaving to your enemies a
 “ bloody and dismal victory.”

HAVING thus concluded, he, very soon after,
 gave orders that the charge to battle should be
 sounded, and then led his forces into the plain
 marshalled in array. There he caused the horse-
 men to dismount, and sent away their horses,
 thinking to animate his soldiers by reducing all
 to an equality; after which himself on foot drew
 up his little army, so as to make the most of his
 situation and number of troops.

As there was a plain amongst the mountains
 to the left of his encampment, and on the right
 of it an abrupt and rocky precipice, eight cohorts
 were

were stationed in the front of this plain, and the rest of his forces more compactly formed as a body of reserve. From these, however, he selected all the centurions and evocati *, moreover every common soldier who was completely armed, and ranged them all in the front of the cohorts. The care of the right wing was committed to Mallius, that of the left to a certain Fæstulian, while Catiline in person, with his freedmen and associates from the colonies, took post in the centre, close by the eagle, which Caius Marius was reported to have had in his army at the time of the Cimbrian war.

As Antonius, the opposite general, was disabled by the gout, and could not command in the approaching battle, he delegated his power to Marcus Petreius his lieutenant: this officer ordered to the front the veteran cohorts enrolled on the present disturbance, and drew up behind them his other forces in readiness to assist them if occasion called. Then riding through all the ranks, and calling every soldier by his proper name, he admonished and entreated them to hold it in remembrance, that they were to engage with a band of defenceless robbers, in protection of their families, their religion, and their country: long conversant with military affairs, as having served with high reputation more than thirty

* Veteran soldiers who were after dismissal recalled to, and preferred in the service.

years, either tribune, præfect, lieutenant, or prætor, he was perfectly acquainted with the soldiers persons, and recollected many of their past exploits, by the recital of which he now lighted up the flame of glory in their breasts.

WHEN Petreius had thus taken all possible preventive measures, the trumpets sounded the signal of battle, and the cohorts were ordered to march leisurely on. This example was followed by Catiline's army. But when, by these motions, they were brought so near each other that the light armed troops might have engaged, of a sudden they set up an universal shout, and, eagerly pressing forward to a close conflict, cast aside their javelins, that they might determine the combat with their swords. The veterans fought hand to hand with the fiercest resolution, inspired by the recollection of their ancient renown; the resistance of their opponents was desperately brave, and the battle raged with the utmost violence.

CATILINE, meanwhile, with his light armed troops, was busily employed in the front of the line; there he sustained such as were faint, replaced the wounded by fresh men, and had a provident eye upon all quarters at once: often he engaged personally with singular courage, many of the enemy were wounded by his hand, and throughout

throughout he approved himself the general and the soldier.

PETREIUS observing how Catiline struggled for conquest, and with what unexpected vigour he maintained his ground, led on himself the prætorian cohort into the midst of the enemy, most of whom he slew while confused by his onset, and employed in defending themselves from other attacks, after which he assailed such as remained on both flanks.

MALLIUS and the Fæsulian commander fell bravely fighting in the van, nor did Catiline, when he perceived his forces were routed, and that he was left on the field almost unaccompanied, forget what was due to his high birth and former dignity ; for rushing into the enemies thickest ranks he expired there, (after exerting every effort of valour) pierced through with numberless wounds.

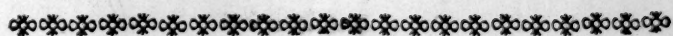
THE battle now over you might readily see with what boldness and resolution his army had been inspired ; for, in general, the very spot that each man occupied in the engagement, his body now lifeless still secured : a few only had been forced from their station by the prætorian cohort, and these had fallen at some distance from their ranks, but all of them covered with honourable wounds : Catiline himself was found
far

far beyond his own lines amongst heaps of slaughtered enemies ; breathing yet a little, and retaining, even in death, that fierceness which was painted on his countenance while alive.

To conclude, out of all the followers of his fortune no captive of note was taken either in the battle or pursuit, thus it is plain they spared their own lives as little as their foes : nor did the Romans obtain an easy or a bloodless victory, since all their best men either lost their lives in the field, or retired from it grievously wounded.

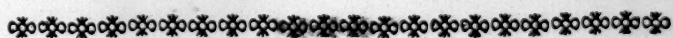
BESIDES many who poured out of Rome, through curiosity or desire of pillage, when they came to examine the dead bodies of the enemy, found, some of them a friend, some their host, and some their kinsman ; there were some too who distinguished their foes amongst the slain : so that, throughout the army, there was the strangest variety of grief and gladness, of trouble and joy.

The End of the CATILINE WAR.



T H E

JUGURTHINE WAR.



JUGURTHINE WAR

T H E

JUGURTHINE WAR.

MEN complain with great injustice of defects in human nature, when they allege that it is infirm, subject to swift decay, and rather at the mercy of chance than under the influence of virtue; for, upon due consideration, it must contrarywise appear that, in worth and excellence, it is second to none, and that when any imperfection creeps into its frame, man should seek for the source of it in his own indolence, without questioning nature's powers or permanency.

Now it is the soul that directs and regulates our conduct in life; this, when glory becomes its object, and virtue is chosen its guide, claims no assistance from fortune, secure without its aid of

G

renown,

98 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

renown, authority, and honour : for uprightness, assiduity, and other like valuable qualifications depend not on its will ; these it can neither give nor take away.

BUT if a slave to vicious appetites, the soul has sunk into idleness and sensual pleasures, when its destructive passions have been for a time indulged, and when the vigour of the mind, all opportunities of improvement, and the powers of the imagination have been swallowed up in debauchery and sloth, then nature is taxed with infirmity ; and instead of the cause that produces them the effects flowing from it are censured.

Now if men would pay as much attention to their real interests, as they do to pursuits that are foreign from them and no way profitable, nay often big with ruin and distress, why they would be enabled to control fortune instead of lying at its mercy, and might thus arrive at such a pitch of exaltation, as would raise them above the perishing condition of mortality, and dignify their names with an eternity of renown.

JUST as every rational being is composed of a soul and a body, so all our qualities, and every of our wishes, partake of the affections of one or the other : corporeal endowments are perishable and frail : strength, beauty, and riches, with every external accomplishment, are only momentary, and
quickly

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 99

quickly fade away ; but the excellencies of the mental faculties are, like the soul itself, destined to the glory of immortality.

IN a word, whether the gifts of nature, or the goods of fortune are under contemplation, it will be found that, as is their beginning, so will be their end ; they are produced for annihilation, and strengthened for decay. But the soul is eternal, incorruptible, the ruler of the world, pervading and taking in all human affairs without being subject itself to comprehension or restraint ; and, on this account, I think that their depravity is the more astonishing, who, turning votaries to sensuality, pass their time in idleness and luxury, neglecting their genius, that greatest and most invaluable treasure, and suffering it to rust through inattention and disuse ; and that too when there are so many different modes of exercising it, and the cultivation of it a security for honour and reputation.

BUT of these, in my opinion, at a time like this, the civil government of Rome, with all concern in state affairs, are least of all to be coveted ; for neither are authority and power bestowed as the rewards of merit, nor are they, who by their underhand traffick have obtained them, more secure, or more respectfully treated on that account. For altho' you may sway the sceptre of violence over a discontented people and refractory kindred,

100 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

and altho' you may be able to correct offences, yet still the office must be painful and replete with trouble; especially when every alteration in a state points to slaughter, banishment, and the other effects of civil commotion!

Now it must surely argue a man guilty of the most desperate phrenzy to strain every nerve in any fruitless pursuit, which can promise nothing but general hatred as the reward of his fatigue! unless indeed he is influenced by a base and destructive principle, which may prompt him to sacrifice his honour and goodname, while courting the favour of a few ambitious men.

BUT there are other employments which will usefully engage the mind, and one of the highest consequence I conceive to be the tracing and digesting past deeds of renown: however, as many able pens have heretofore been busied in celebrating this subject, I hold it improper to comment on it at the present time; another motive for my silence is, that I may not be charged with vanity in extolling that particular study to which I have bent my own attention.

AND yet because I formed a resolution to retire from publick life, I believe some people are not backward to allege that, far from applying myself to this noble and most beneficial undertaking, my days are given up entirely to indolence; but
these

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 101

these are reflections of which I am to make but little account, as proceeding from men who deem it the very essence of industry, to court popularity by affected complaisance and expensive entertainments.

NEVERTHELESS if these censurers would call to memory the circumstances of those days in which I was invested with the honours of the magistracy, if they would recollect the characters of the men in preference to whom I was elected, and if they would but think of the despicable beings who then crept into the senate, they would assuredly become converts to my opinion, and allow that a motive more powerful than the indulgence of a slothful disposition has caused me to reject my former choice; and that more emolument will accrue to the publick from my retirement, than from all the busy bustle of others.

IN aid of my argument I shall here repeat an observation which, as I have been told, was frequently made use of by Quintus Maxumus, Publius Scipio, and other eminent men; viz.—that while they contemplated the statues of their ancestors the fiercest fire of glory blazed in their breasts; and will any one say that the inanimate waxen image, or any resemblance of features could produce this amazing effect? no—let him rather acknowledge that, by the recollection of

their renown, the sacred flame was lighted up in these illustrious bosoms, and that this ardour could not be allayed until, by a series of noble actions, they became equally entitled to immortality.

BUT where now will you find a Roman breathing such a spirit of emulation? in what do they pride themselves save their riches and profusion, while uprightness and industry are forgotten and unknown? Nay the very citizens of mean descent, whose shining talents enabled them to throw, in former days, the nobility into the shade, now labour at the possession of authority and power, surreptitiously or violently rather than by honest means: as if the consulate, prætorship, or any other office of magistracy had, in themselves, a natural claim to dignity and honour; and as if the respect paid to them was not ever in proportion to the capacity and conduct of the men who filled them. But I have digressed too long, and been too diffusive on this subject; an error I have been led into by wearisome and afflicting reflections on the depravity of my countrymen—I now return to my undertaking.

It is my purpose to pen the history of that war which was maintained by the Roman people against Jugurtha the Numidian monarch, and I chuse to employ myself upon it for two reasons: first because it was extensive, bloody, and long
of

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 103

of doubtful issue ; again for that, at this particular period, the haughty nobles first felt the curb of opposition ; this contention for power between the two orders of the state involved all things in misery and confusion ; and at length was carried to that desperate height, that the fury of the factions could only be appeased by all the extremities of civil war and the desolation of Italy.

BUT previous to the commencement of my intended relation, it is necessary for me to bring into view some prior transactions, which will serve to cast a light upon the events which are to follow.

AT the time of the second Punick war (in which Hannibal the Carthaginian general, gave the rudest shock to the Roman empire ever sustained by it since the fullest establishment of its power) Masinissa, king of Numidia, being admitted an ally by Publius Scipio (afterwards for his bravery surnamed Africanus) performed, in the course of it, many great and gallant exploits ; to manifest their sense of which the Roman people, when the Carthaginians were subdued, and Syphax (a prince of wide extended dominion in Africa) led captive, granted to that monarch the cities and territories reduced by his arms. Therefore Masinissa still preserved his friendship for the
Romans

104 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

Romans faithful and inviolate, but death put an end to his empire and his life.

HIS son Micipsa succeeded singly to his kingdom, as his brothers Manastabal and Guluffa were dead, and with the same attention and care bestowed on these his own children, he educated in the palace a natural son of his brother Manastabal's called Jugurtha, whom, for the misfortune of his birth, Masinissa had consigned to obscurity.

THIS youth, who as he increased in years became remarkable for his strength and beauty, but much more for his intellectual abilities, did not yield to the allurements of idleness and luxury, but, agreeable to the custom of that warlike nation, devoted his whole time to the practice of horsemanship, of the bow, and of the race with his companions, and tho' in renown he exceeded them all, yet was he dear to every heart. The chase too engaged much of his attention, in this he was always foremost, or one of the first, to wound the lion and other wild beasts; yet while his actions were thus conspicuous his boastings were never heard.

WHEN Micipsa, however, (who was perfectly delighted at first with these accounts as thinking that Jugurtha's qualifications would do honour to his kingdom) began to reflect on the rapid progress of this rising genius, his own exhausted life

life, and the helpless condition of his little offspring, he found the subject both interesting and alarming, and deeply revolved all possible future events in his mind. He knew that men, in general, were eager for dominion, and impetuously hurried on by their depraved desires; his own and his childrens defenceless state did not escape him, and he was sensible of the opportunity thence afforded, by which, when attended with a prospect of gain, even moderate men are tempted to desert their principles. He was moreover well acquainted with the Numidians affection for Jugurtha, and had every reason to apprehend an insurrection or civil war, should it appear that their favourite had fallen a victim to treacherous suspicion.

IN this perplexed situation (perceiving that it would be madness to attempt, either openly or by stratagem, the life of a man who was become the idol of his people, and knowing Jugurtha to be valiant and passionately fond of war) he resolved to expose him to danger, and to try what fortune would thus effect in his favour. Therefore when, at the time Numantia was besieged by the Romans, Micipsa was sending away a body of horse and foot to his allies assistance, he appointed Jugurtha to the command of the troops ordered to Spain, in confidence that his own forward bravery, or the
 fury

106 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

fury of the foe would speedily put a period to his life.

BUT here his expectation was intirely defeated : for when Jugurtha, who was of a piercing genius and prompt alacrity, had read the disposition of Scipio, then general of the Romans, and discovered by close observation the management of the enemy, he made this knowledge the rule of his conduct, and, by excessive fatigues, with the most exact diligence, by his modest submissiveness and undaunted resolution, he became, in a short time, so eminent and renowned that the Romans adored his name, whilst by the Numantians he was considered in the light of their most deadly foe. Two qualities he possessed besides almost incompatible, and rarely meeting in one man ; courage and conduct—the latter of which from over-acted caution, often degenerates into cowardice, while the boldness of the former pushes it on to deeds of rashness.

THUS then all matters of weight and difficulty were intrusted by the general to Jugurtha's care ; by him he was received in the number of his friends, and honoured every day with fresh marks of his esteem ;—deservedly too, since his designs and undertakings were all crowned with success : he was moreover the soul of liberality, and had a genius the most politick and refined,
by

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 107

by which means he had secured an intimate connection with many of the Romans.

THERE were at this time in the army, both of the old and new nobility, numbers who preferred riches to reputation and honour ;—men violent in their parties, of much power at home, but abroad more respected for their rank than their virtues : these had elevated Jugurtha not a little by promising that, when Micipsa's death made a vacancy, he alone should sway the sceptre of Numidia ; his qualifications, they said, entitled him to the crown, and with money he was sure of suffrages at Rome. But when Scipio determined, after sacking Numantia, to dismiss the auxiliaries and return to Italy, having first loaded Jugurtha with presents in publick, and honoured him with the most distinguished approbation, he required his presence in the general's tent, and there admonished him, in private, to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people with open sincerity, rather than attempt it by secret intrigue ; to refrain from lavishing away his wealth in largesses to particular persons ; that to purchase from a few, where many were to be consulted, was hazardous, and must be attended with trouble ; that if he would but persevere in his present mode of conduct, both glory and empire would, of course, be his ; but if he adventured to grasp them too hastily, or by unjust means, these very corrupt measures would precipitate his fall.

HAVING

108 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

HAVING thus concluded, he dismissed him with the following letter for Micipsa : “ I impart
“ to thee a circumstance which will swell thy bosom with joy ; the virtues of thy Jugurtha have
“ shone forth, with far superiour lustre, in the
“ Numantian war ; his merit, so extraordinary,
“ has endeared him to me ; and it shall be my
“ particular study to secure to him the love and
“ respect of the senate and people of Rome : interested by friendship in every concern of thine,
“ I congratulate thee on the acquisition of such
“ a treasure ; receive then at my hands this excellent youth, most worthy of the race from
“ which he sprung,—of thee, and of his grandfather Masinissa !”

WHEREFORE when the king received, under the general's signature, this confirmation of Jugurtha's renown which report had made familiar to him before, affected by his bravery, and great interest with the Romans, he altered his plan entirely, endeavoured to secure his fidelity by favours, and, instantly adopting him, declared him by his will, joint successor to the empire with his own children.

A FEW years after this transaction, when, worn out by age and sickness, Micipsa found the period of his life was at hand, he is said to have delivered himself thus to Jugurtha, in the presence of their common friends and relations, and
also

also of Atherbal and Hiempsal his sons—"When
 " thou wast yet, oh Jugurtha! a little, an indi-
 " gent, and hopeless orphan, I extended to thee
 " my favour, and sheltered thee in my kingdom,
 " assuring myself such kindness must conciliate
 " thine affection, and that thou wouldest reve-
 " rence and love me as a son; nor can I say that
 " the hopes I built on thee have been, hitherto,
 " frustrated, for, without enumerating thy many
 " other illustrious and renowned exploits, let me
 " only remark on thine expedition to Numantia,
 " whence thou art but now returned, after hav-
 " ing, by thy magnanimity, reflected all honour
 " both on me and on my kingdom, thus doubly
 " rivetting the affection of Rome!—in Spain too
 " our family name is once more celebrated thro'
 " thee, and (to conclude with a difficulty rarely
 " to be surmounted by mortals) even the howl-
 " ings of envy are silenced by thy fame!

" I feel now a total decay of nature, and the
 " time of my dissolution draweth on apace; let
 " me then counsel and beseech thee, by this right
 " hand, and by the sacred faith of kings, to love
 " and cherish these my sons, thy relations by con-
 " sanguinity, thy brethren by my favour! be en-
 " treated by me not to look for strange connec-
 " tions; seek rather to preserve those friendships
 " which are sanctioned by the ties of blood.

110 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ It is not an army nor a kingdom’s treasure
 “ that will serve to secure its rights ; but friend-
 “ ship will protect them which can’t be reconciled
 “ by the violence of armies, nor purchased with
 “ gold ;—no, its foundation is a mutual inter-
 “ change of kindnesses, and it is maintained up-
 “ on principles of honour and of faith,

“ Now, where should we expect this to operate
 “ so powerfully as amongst brethren ?—or what
 “ stranger can he repose on with confidence who
 “ has already betrayed his nearest friends ? ye will
 “ jointly receive from me a kingdom, ’tis true ;
 “ but its continuance depends entirely on your-
 “ selves ; if virtue and concord sway you it will
 “ be permanent, if vice and animosities, empire
 “ is lost : for the poorest state must be aggran-
 “ dized by the union of its constituent parts ;
 “ but dissensions will shake the most powerful to
 “ its foundations.

“ JUGURTHA, thou hast, in years and experi-
 “ ence the advantage over thy brethren, and it
 “ should therefore be, more especially, thy care
 “ to guard against occurrences which may inter-
 “ rupt this harmony ; for thine own sake too,
 “ because in every dispute the strongest, (tho’
 “ perhaps injured) is looked on as the aggressor ;—
 “ people judge by his ability to do mischief.
 “ As for your parts, Atherbal and Hiempsal, see
 “ that you pay to this illustrious character all ho-
 “ nour

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 111

“nour and attention; form yourselves by the
“great example, and be earnest to prove, that
“ye, my proper offspring, are not inferior to
“an adopted son.”

THIS language Jugurtha knew to be foreign from his heart, yet he replied, as the time required, in the soothing expressions of love, and dissembled, in his turn, the purposes with which his bosom was fraught. Soon after which Micipsa reached the goal of life.

WHEN his funeral obsequies, which were magnificent and befitting his exalted station, were celebrated, the three princes held a meeting to adjust all national concerns. At this interview Hiempsal the youngest (haughty by nature, and accustomed to despise, even in his father's life time, the baseness of Jugurtha's origin, who was born of a concubine) took his place at Atherbal's right hand, intending thereby to exclude Jugurtha from the middle seat, which, amongst the Numidians, is accounted the most honourable; nor was it without the utmost difficulty that all the remonstrances and persuasions of his brother, who represented the necessity of giving place to his senior, prevailed on him, at length, to change his situation.

In the course of this long debate on the affairs of their government, Jugurtha happened to say,
that

that "all the laws and ordinances framed by Micipsa in his last five years should, regularly, be repealed,—the hand of time was fore upon him throughout that period, and consequently his understanding much on the decline." Hiempsal caught the words and declared his immediate assent to them, adding that "it was only within the three last that himself, the mover of the question, had been adopted and named a coheir of the empire."

THIS sarcasm cut deeper into Jugurtha's breast than was imagined by any of those who heard it; thence forward a slave to anger, and apprehension, all his projects, every measure, and the sole employment of his thoughts, tended to compass Hiempsal's downfall by some treacherous device: but the success of his designs not keeping pace with his wishes, and his furious soul still raging for revenge, he resolved to proceed even by violence to the accomplishment of his intention.

It had been agreed upon by the three princes, at the congress which I have spoken of, that for the avoidance of all contention the treasures should be shared, an boundaries settled to distinguish each man's division of the empire. Pursuant to this resolution a day was fixed for each business, but the distribution of the money was to be the first; meantime the princes took up their several residences

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 113

residences in different towns, convenient to that wherein the treasures were deposited.

HIEMPSAL chose Thirmida for his, and it happened that, for his dwelling, he should pitch upon an house which was the property of Jugurtha's chief licitor, a man very high in his master's confidence and esteem; this convenient agent, the offering of fortune, he loads with promises of future favour, and prevails on him, under pretence of examining the state of his house, to endeavour at procuring him false keys for the gates, as the caution of Hiempfal still secured the true; assuring him besides that, when he should have performed the part assigned, himself would advance with his army to conclude the rest.

THIS Numidian soon accomplished the king's desire, and agreeable to his instructions, a band of soldiers was admitted at night.—These, immediately on forcing into the house, began to search in every quarter for the king; the domesticks were murdered, some of them yet asleep, others running to and fro in affright and confusion; the most private recesses were explored, the doors dashed to pieces, and the house made a scene of tumult and uproar: the unfortunate Hiempfal was discovered, mean while, in a female slaves lodging room, whither he had fled on the first noise of this onset, disordered by his fears and a stranger to the place; there the Numidians se-

H

vered

114 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

vered his head from the body, and, as they had been commanded to do, carried it to Jugurtha.

THE rumour of this bloody crime soon spread over Africk, and affected Atherbal, as well as all those who had been under the immediate government of Micipsa, with the most mortal terrors. Numidia was split into two factions, that of Atherbal the most numerous, but Jugurtha's trained to war.

THE latter then, finding how all things were circumstanced, bent his whole attention to the raising of a considerable force; this accomplished, many cities were added to his dominions, some compelled to submission, others voluntary in their obedience, while the sovereignty of all Numidia became the object of his preparations.

ATHERBAL, tho' he had already dispatched ambassadours to Rome, who were to lay before the senate a full account of his brother's murder, and his own misfortunes, determined, notwithstanding, to hazard an engagement, building on the number of his troops for success: but the issue of the battle evinced the fallacy of his hopes, his forces being routed, and himself constrained to take refuge in one of our provinces, from whence he afterwards proceeded to Rome.

IT

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 115

It was now that Jugurtha (after he had executed all his designs, and obtained universal monarchy in Numidia) when he reflected at leisure on the probable consequences of his crimes, saw every reason for dreading the resentment of the Roman people; nor did any means offer to shield himself from their fury, save the influence of money on the corrupted nobles. Within a few days then he ordered away ambassadors to Rome; to these he committed an immense treasure, with instructions first to seek out his former acquaintances and shower presents upon them; then to proceed in forming new connections, and finally to secure every man whose avarice laid him open to temptation.

BUT when the ambassadors arrived at Rome, and, in obedience to his mandate, began to disperse their wealth with the utmost munificence, as well among his former intimates, as others whose authority was then very high in the senate; so sudden and extraordinary was the effect it produced, that Jugurtha, all at once, started up the applauded favourite of the nobility, who before had been the object of general detestation. Therefore they who were already purchased, and others who expected the wages of iniquity, all made it their business to solicit the senators in private, and thus guarded with their whole power against passing a severe decree.—

116 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE Ambassadors being now confident of the success of their measures, a day was appointed on which both parties were to prefer their complaints before the senate ; that being arrived Atherbal is said to have related his grievances in the following words.

“ CONSCRIPT fathers, the latest injunctions
“ of Micipsa my dying father were, that I should
“ always consider myself as your deputy only,—
“ by you set over the kingdom of Numidia, as
“ ye were in reality its rightful lords ; that all
“ my attention should be directed both in peace
“ and war to your service, and that I should
“ deem your favour equivalent to every other tie
“ of blood or friendship ; he added, that, while
“ I observed these precepts, my alliance with
“ Rome would supply every want, whether of
“ troops, money, or military defence.

“ These, my father’s, admonitions became the
“ rule of my life, but while I acted in conformity to them, Jugurtha, a man whose monstrous wickedness all creation cannot parallel,
“ most daringly presumed, in defiance of your
“ authority from which I derive my own, to expel me, with outrage, from my kingdom and
“ possessions,—me, who am the grandson of Massinissa,—me, even the hereditary ally and friend
“ of the Roman people !

I COULD

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 117

“ I COULD wish indeed, since this misery
“ was to be my portion, that my title to your
“ protection was founded on personal good offices,
“ and not on those which my ancestors have per-
“ formed ;—my chiefest happiness it would be to
“ have a claim to your kindnesses, and yet be
“ pressed by no difficulties which might call for
“ your aid ; nor should I complain of ill for-
“ tune if, in the day of calamity, I might look
“ up to Rome for patronage as my due : but
“ seeing that, with only integrity and innocence
“ for my safeguard, my life was insecure, and
“ since my feeble power served not to restrain
“ the violence of my enemy, or reduce him to
“ reason, to you, conscript fathers, I have turned
“ myself for refuge, compelled by a necessity the
“ most wounding to my soul, to perplex and
“ embarrass you, ere my duty is approved.

“ YET reflect that other monarchs, who have
“ been honoured with your friendship, were either
“ first subdued by your arms, or sought it in
“ the day of some impending distress ; whereas
“ our connection with you commenced in the
“ Carthaginian war, at which time your broken
“ fortunes could promise no advantage, and
“ when your reputation for fidelity must have
“ been our sole inducement ;—I am of that
“ stock, conscript fathers ;—in me behold the
“ grandson of Masinissa ; ah ! suffer not him to
“ implore your protection in vain !

118 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

"HAD I no plea to dispose you in my favour
 "except my miserable reverse of fortune (but
 "now a mighty potentate, illustrious by birth,
 "famed for virtue, and attended by a powerful
 "army! anon, deformed by care and sorrow,
 "the victim of poverty, and wretched de-
 "pendant on a foreign aid!) still it would be
 "worthy the majesty of Rome to vindicate
 "such wrongs, and to pull down an empire
 "augmented by violence and oppression; but
 "hear the more forcible argument in my fa-
 "vour—the kingdom I am bereft of is that very
 "kingdom, which my ancestors were put into pos-
 "session of by the Roman people! it is that
 "country from which, assisted by your arms, my
 "father and grandfather expelled both Syphax
 "and the Carthaginians! they are the testimo-
 "nies of your munificence, and tokens of your
 "regard, which are thus, conscript fathers, in-
 "humanly torn from me!—the author of my
 "misery sets your power at defiance.

"ALAS! what peculiar wretchedness is mine?
 "alas! my dear departed father, is this the re-
 "turn for all thy goodness? is it within belief
 "that the man whom thou hast made equal to
 "thy children, and the coheir of thy kingdom,
 "should turn out the fell destroyer of thy race?
 "—alas! shall our family never be at peace?
 "must our lives, alas! be one continued scene
 "of blood, desolation, and wretched exile?

"WHILE

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 119

“ WHILE Carthage flourished we, naturally,
“ felt every severity of fortune ; our enemy lay
“ contiguous, you our allies far removed, and
“ all our hopes of safety rested on ourselves. But
“ when once this accursed generation was banished
“ out of Africa, we enjoyed in transport the fullest
“ blessings of peace ; for we had no further
“ enemies to contend with, except at such times
“ as you were pleased to order us to war. But
“ lo ! on a sudden, Jugurtha breaks forth ! and
“ vaunting himself in his most audacious insolence,
“ in his crimes, and the haughtiness of his
“ soul, first imbrues his hands in my brother’s,
“ his own kinsman’s, blood, and then seizes on
“ his dominions as the reward of this unnatural
“ murder : afterwards (when he found I was
“ guarded against his wiles) at a time that under
“ the dread protection of your authority, nothing
“ was more foreign from my thoughts than violence
“ or invasion ; he reduced me to the lamentable
“ condition in which you now behold me, banished
“ from my country and my home, oppressed
“ with want, and buried under a load of misery !
“ nay so forlorn I am that my life is more
“ assured in any corner of the world, than in my
“ proper kingdom !

“ FOR my part, conscript fathers, my opinion
“ was conformable to that which I often heard
“ delivered by my deceased father, viz. that they
“ who wished to cultivate your friendship with
“ care

120 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“care and attention, must subject themselves to
“very painful difficulties, but that by it they
“ascertained their perfect security. As far as
“lay in our power we have paid observance to
“this maxim, by a regular attendance on you
“in all your wars; it rests upon you, conscript
“fathers, to prove the tie reciprocal, by guard-
“ing us from dangers in our days of retirement
“and peace.

“OUR father left behind him two of us bro-
“thers; Jugurtha became his son by adoption,
“and him he thought to unite with us by lavishi-
“ing on him his favours; one of us two is already
“murdered by him, and scarcely have I myself,
“the other, escaped with life out of his impious
“hands. What scheme shall I pursue? or,
“wretch that I am! whither can I turn myself
“with a prospect of relief? all hopes of domes-
“tick aid are buried in the dust; my father has
“sunk under a natural decay; my brother has
“fallen by the barbarity of his kinsman, while
“every obligation of gratitude and affection re-
“volted against the crime; my other relations,
“friends, and followers have experienced the
“various bitterness of death; led captive by Ju-
“gurtha they were, some of them, nailed to the
“cross, and others exposed to the fury of wild
“beasts; to a few of them only a wretched ex-
“istence has been spared, but they are impri-
“soned in gloomy dungeons, where, in wo and
“misery,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 121

“ misery, they languish thro’ a life more racking
“ than the horrors of death itself!

“ WAS I even now possessed of my former
“ dignities, and were all those who, changing from
“ friendship to enmity, pursued me to destruc-
“ tion, again reunited to me; yet would I, in the
“ day of unexpected ill fortune, implore, con-
“ script fathers, your aid and protection; to you
“ I would have recourse, whose care it ought to
“ be (mighty as you are in power) to guard the
“ rights, and redress the injuries of all mankind.
“ In my present condition then, thus exiled from
“ my country, houseless, forsaken, and deprived
“ of all the marks of royalty, where else should
“ I seek for refuge? where else prefer my com-
“ plaint—can I address myself to such states or
“ princes as your alliance has made the mortal
“ foes of our house? whither can I turn my face
“ without beholding innumerable marks of my
“ ancestors hostile rage? or can I expect com-
“ miseration from those, who have been, at any
“ time, the enemies of the Roman name?

“ To conclude, conscript fathers, it was Masi-
“ nissa’s constant instruction to us, not to culti-
“ vate any friendship save that with the people
“ of Rome; not to embrace any offered connec-
“ tions, not to form any new leagues:—we were
“ told that your alliance would amply shield us
“ from misfortune, and that if, in the course of
“ events

122 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ events, this empire should be shaken, we must
 “ not expect to survive its fall.—The propitious
 “ gods have crowned your magnanimity, and ye
 “ are become a great and opulent nation ; all your
 “ undertakings are prosperous, and the willing
 “ world receives from you its laws ; unembar-
 “ rassed by any disturbance, ye have thus more
 “ leisure to attend to, and remedy the wrongs
 “ your allies may sustain.

“ My cause is so just that I can entertain only
 “ one fear, lest some in this house, influenced by
 “ the private friendship of Jugurtha, (alas ! the
 “ value of it is little understood) may thence
 “ be induced to swerve from the path of justice ;
 “ these, I hear, are exerting every effort in his
 “ favour, and by particular solicitation, and fre-
 “ quent importunity, pressing you not to deter-
 “ mine upon imperfect grounds, against a man
 “ not here present to vindicate himself ; adding,
 “ that my wrongs are fictions, and my banish-
 “ ment mere pretence, for that I might have re-
 “ mained with perfect security in my kingdom.

“ But if I am an impostor, oh ! would to the
 “ gods, that I could see him exercising the same
 “ invention, by whose impious crimes I have
 “ been precipitated into this sea of trouble ! oh !
 “ that either ye, or the immortal deities may, in
 “ due time, bestow your care and attention on
 “ worldly concerns ! that he who is now haughty
 “ and

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 123

“ and prosperous in his iniquity, may, after ex-
“ perienicing every torture humanity is subject to,
“ meet the dreadfullest punishment allotted for
“ his crimes,—for his unnatural returns to our
“ beneficent father, for my unhappy brother’s
“ inhuman murder, and for all the agonies with
“ which he has rent my heart.

“ HERE let me apostrophize thy spirit, oh bro-
“ ther most beloved! ’tis true thou hast fallen
“ immaturely, and by the hand that should have
“ guarded thy life; yet, believe me, I think this
“ seeming misfortune not so much a matter of
“ sorrow as of joy; for it is not simply thy king-
“ dom that, with thy life, thou hast lost, since
“ by thy death thou art freed from the necessity
“ of an ignominious flight, from exile, from po-
“ verty, and the many calamities which wring
“ my soul. Wretched survivor that I am! I
“ have been expelled my paternal kingdom, hur-
“ led into the abyss of misery, and am now a dif-
“ mal instance of the vicissitudes of life!—Lost
“ in uncertainty I know not what measures to
“ pursue! can I attempt to revenge thy injuries
“ while unable to redress my own? or can I me-
“ ditate the recovery of my kingdom, while it is
“ at the option of others whether I am to live or
“ die?

“ WOULD to God that my misfortunes were
“ closed by any honourable death! lest I become
“ an

124 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ an object of contempt amongst men, if, broken
 “ in my spirit, I should bow beneath oppression ;
 “ but unhappily I am so circumstanced that
 “ while life is a burden to me, I cannot lay it down
 “ without dishonour ; suffer me then, conscript
 “ fathers, to implore you by the dearness, in which
 “ you hold yourselves, your children, and your
 “ parents, suffer me to beseech you by the ma-
 “ jesty of the Roman name, to extend your fa-
 “ vour to a wretched suppliant, to oppose the
 “ inroads of lawless usurpation, and not to behold,
 “ with indifference, your own Numidia thus pol-
 “ luted by enormities, and by the blood of our
 “ unhappy family.”

WHEN the king had concluded, Jugurtha's
 ambassadors, depending more on their liberality
 than the justice of their cause, replied to his
 charge in very few words—they said that Hi-
 empfal was slain by the Numidians for his cruelty,
 that Atherbal began the war without the smallest
 provocation, and being worsted, now pretended
 a right to complain, because his pernicious designs
 had been successfully opposed ; that Jugurtha
 entreated the senate to believe him still swayed
 by the same sentiments which he had discovered
 at Numantia, and besought them not to suffer his
 enemy's vague assertions to outweigh the solid
 services he had performed.

THIS

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 125

HIS defence thus finished both parties retired from the assembly, and the consultation on this subject then began. The ambassadours friends, and many of the senators, whose integrity had given way to their interested views, affected to make light of Atherbal's detail, while Jugurtha's perfections were applauded to the skies: their influence and voices were prostituted, and every nerve as eagerly strained in vindication of the detestable crimes committed by another, as if their own glory was the object of their pursuit. But in opposition to these a few, with whom probity and justice were estimable beyond riches, declared their opinions that Atherbal should be supported, and the murder of Hiempsal severely revenged. The loudest in these sentiments was Emilius Scaurus, of an illustrious family and daring spirit, but a violent party man, the slave of ambition, desirous of honours, and covetous of wealth; yet withal a consummate hypocrite, shielding his vices from observation.

He, when he perceived the wages of vice dealt out with such notorious and barefaced prodigality, judiciously repressed the impulses of his avarice, as fearing that the scandalous prostitution of the nobles might excite (the usual consequences of it) a popular commotion. Nevertheless, majority of numbers established their doctrine by whom bribery or connection were held dearer than the truth, and a decree was made in course, that

ten

126 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

ten ambassadours should be appointed to divide the kingdom, once Micipsa's, between Atherbal and Jugurtha: at the head of these was Lucius Opimius, a conspicuous character, and then of distinguished authority in the senate; because he had, when consul, after slaying Caius Gracchus, and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, exercised the superiority obtained by the nobility over the populace with the most rigorous and unrelenting severity.

JUGURTHA, tho' he numbered him amongst his patrons at Rome, received him with every mark of the most studied attention, and so gained upon him by the magnificence of his presents and promises, that, regardless of reputation, of honour, and every consideration that should be dear to him, the interest of his seducer now occupied the first place in his thoughts. The other ambassadours were assailed and conquered by the like temptations, a few only excepted with whom their integrity was accounted more valuable than any treasure.

THE partition being made, that half of Numidia which borders on Mauritania, (the most populous and fittest for cultivation) was delivered to Jugurtha; the other which had a greater number of havens, was more decorated with buildings, and which was rather showy than substantial, was given to Atherbal.

My

My subject seems here to require from me a short description of Africa, with a light sketch of those nations with which we have been at peace or war : but such of its kingdoms and inhabitants as are not often visited, either on account of the scorching heats, the difficulty of access, or the vast intervening deserts, I must pass over in silence, as it was impossible to procure the needful information on this head. Of the known parts my outline shall be quickly terminated.

MOST of those who have treated of the division of our globe have made it triple, and Africa its third ; they are but few in number who give the whole to Europe and Asia, and include Africa in the European division. The straits which unite the Italian sea to the ocean skirt it on the west ; the eastern boundary is a shelving tract of country, thence called by the natives * Catabathmos. The sea of Africa is stormy and perilous, without any safe harbours to shelter from its rage ; the soil yields abundance of grain, is good for rearing cattle, but bare and unfruitful of trees ; the supply of rain water is very scanty, and that from the springs not much more plentiful ; the natives are healthy, active, and inured to hardships ; except such as are destroyed in battle, or the chase, the usual causes of their dissolution are the infirmities of old age, for it is rare to find any one

* Declivity, from the Greek, *καταβαινω*.

of them the victim of distemper; and to conclude my account, the country breeds a multitude of noxious animals.

I SHALL now proceed to recount, very briefly, who were the original inhabitants of Africa, what emigrants from other countries settled there in process of time, and how the natural became blended with the adventitious people; I may vary in this narrative from the generally received opinion, yet seeing that this is taken from the Punick records as they were expounded to me, which records are said to have been collected by king Hiempfal, and since it obtains credit amongst the natives themselves, I adopt it as best warranted, but with this reserve, that the confirmation of its truth must rest on the authors I have cited.

THE Libyans and Gætulians, a fierce uncivilized race, were, at first, the joint possessors of Africa; their food consisted, at some times, of the flesh of wild beasts, at others they lived like the herds, on the herbage of the fields. No system of morals guided, no law restrained them, nor were they subject to any control; wandering and uncertain whither they directed their course, still as night overtook them they fixed their temporary habitations.

BUT after the death of Hercules in Spain (this is the African tradition) his army which was a
medly

medly of various nations, being now without its leader, and harassed by the pretensions of numbers that aimed to succeed him, soon separated and dispersed; and then the Medes, the Persians, and Armenians, which made part of it, passing over in their ships from the Spanish shore, possessed themselves of that country which is washed by our sea. The Persians however had their settlement nearer to the ocean, and these were necessitated to substitute for habitations, the hulls of their vessels turned upside down; for the ground produced no materials for building, nor was there an opportunity of purchasing from, or trafficking with, the Spaniards; as an immense sea, and ignorance of their language, discouraged all thoughts of communication. By degrees they began to intermarry with the Gætulian natives, and because they often changed their settlement, from a desire of bettering their situation, they took, for their own, the appellation of Numidians*; and indeed the dwellings of the Numidian rovers, which they call Mapalia†, are still of an oblong figure, with their sides formed into a curve, much like the hulls of ships.

THE Medes and Armenians too joined themselves to the Libyans, for they dwelt nearer the African sea, (but the Gætulians lay more easterly

* From the Greek, *ποιμαίνω* pascere, signifying shepherds.

† A Punick word, cottages.

130 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

not far removed from the burning climates) and these very speedily built themselves towns, intending, as they were separated only by the strait from Spain, to form an intercourse for the exchange of their mutual commodities: in process of time, their original names were lost, and by the vitiated pronounciation of the Libyans converted from *Medi into Mauri.

Now the power of the Persians soon grew considerable, and their country extremely populous; therefore when the multitude of their inhabitants became troublesome, the descendants of the old stock forsook their parents, and calling themselves Numidians, seized on the territory contiguous to Carthage, which is the Numidia of this day. Then assisting each other as occasion served, they reduced all the neighbouring nations to obedience, either by the force, or terrouer of their arms; thus they increased in reputation and glory exceedingly, but especially those who had stretched towards the Italian sea, for the Libyans could not stand before them, being of a far less warlike temper than the Gætulians. At length almost the whole lower Africa became their own, and the conquered people incorporating with the victors, the common name of Numidian thenceforth distinguished them all.

* From Medes to Moors.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 131

THE Phenicians afterwards built Hipponé, Hadrymetum, Leptis, and other cities on the sea coast. These had, some of them, forsaken their native country because they thought it too populous, others from a desire to found a new kingdom, and had drawn away with them many of the poorer sort, and all such as novelty had a charm for. Prosperity crowned their undertakings and they were soon in a condition to furnish (the most flourishing of them) even assistance to their parent country, while all were an honour to their name.

To describe Carthage fully, would encroach upon my time, and absolute silence with regard to it is preferable to a cursory remark : I proceed then to Catabathmos, the barrier between Africa and Egypt ; thence, along the sea coast, we first find Cyrene, built by a colony from Thera ; then the two Syrtes ; between them Leptis ; lastly the altars of the Phileni, and thus far only the Carthaginian empire extended on the Egyptian side : we then meet with other Punick cities. That part of the country which the Numidians possess stretches on to Mauritania. The Moorish settlement is towards Spain. Higher up than Numidia are found (as our accounts say) the Gætulians, some provided with huts for their habitations, others leading a more savage and vagabond life. Beyond these are the Ethiopians, and then

I 2

those

132 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

those regions which are scorched by the sun's perpendicular rays.

THEREFORE, as Carthage had been previously subdued, most of the Punick cities, and whatever dominion it enjoyed before its fall, formed part of the Roman empire, and were under the jurisdiction of different Roman magistrates, at the time of the Jugurthine war. Great part of Gætulia, and all the Numidians on to the river Mulucha, owned Jugurtha's sway; the Moors were under the government of Bocchus, whose knowledge of the Romans reached no farther than their name, while our information of him was equally circumscribed. Thus of Africa, and its different inhabitants, enough has been said to answer our present purpose.

WHEN, after dividing the kingdom, the ambassadors had departed, and Jugurtha, to the disappointment of his fears, had found his wickedness rewarded, taking it for granted that his friends had given him a true account, when they told him, at Numantia, that money could do all things in Rome, and fired by the promises of protection which had been made him by those whom, but now, he had loaded with gifts, the kingdom of Atherbal became the immediate object of his attention. Fierce and warlike in his disposition, the man against whom he meditated invasion was of a tranquil, peaceable, placid temper,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 133

per, open to the assaults of violence, and rather fearful than capable of striking terror. Therefore, without giving any cause to suspect his design, he enters Atherbal's territories with a mighty force, makes prisoners many of his subjects, seizes great store of cattle and other booty, fires the buildings, and in person scours the country at the head of his cavalry. He then returns with a crowd of captives, and an immensity of plunder, into his own kingdom, pluming himself in the opinion that, roused by his wrongs, Atherbal would revenge himself by the like acts of hostility, and that this would, of course, bring on an open war.

BUT that king, who knew full well that he was unequal to Jugurtha in the field, and who relied less on the fidelity of his Numidians than the protection of Rome, took no further notice than by an embassy of expostulation on the violence; and tho' this produced nothing but a contumelious reply, yet he determined to endure all with patience rather than engage in war: he had tried it once, and smarted for the experiment.

THIS reserve, however, did not damp the forwardness of Jugurtha, for already his imagination had anticipated the actual conquest of his dominions. Therefore hostilities were now commenced by him with a numerous and well appointed army, (not as before with a loose roving

134 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

band) and the crown of all Numidia was made avowedly his aim. Meantime, whithersoever he turned himself, his progress was marked by the sack of cities, and desolation of the fields; whole heaps of pillage were collected, and his own troops as much inspirited, as his enemies were dismayed by his success.

ATHERBAL, upon perceiving his dilemma to be such, that he must either relinquish his kingdom, or secure possession of it by force of arms, upon the principles of self-preservation prepares for war, and marches forward to meet Jugurtha. Within a short space, both armies encamped near the town of Cirta, at no great distance from the sea: that day on which they approached each other being far spent, the battle did not then begin; but when the night was nearly past, and the day not yet ascertained, Jugurtha's soldiers, upon a preconcerted signal, attacked the enemy's entrenchments, who were instantly routed and dispersed while still half asleep, and then only arming for their defence: Atherbal himself escaped to Cirta with a few horse, and had it not happened that there was a multitude of Romans within the city, who drove back the pursuing Numidians from the walls, one sun would have beheld this war between two monarchs begun and ended.

As

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 135

As it was, Jugurtha furrounded the town with his forces, and attempted to storm it by the application of vineæ *, moving towers, and all the apparatus of war : he was eager and impatient to prevent the return of the ambassadours, who had, he heard, been sent before the battle by Atherbal to Rome.

As soon as information of this matter was laid before the senate, three young men were appointed on an embassy to Africa : these were directed to see the two kings, and to deliver to each this declaration from the senate and people of Rome, viz. “ that it was their request and command to “ both, to let all hostilities cease, that they should “ rather chuse justice for their umpire than the “ sword, that such proceeding best suited them, “ and was more consistent with the dignity of “ Rome.”

THE ambassadours hastened into Africa with all dispatch ; for while they were yet in the city preparing for their journey, advice had reached it of the battle and siege of Cirta ; tho’ it was only a flying rumour, nor did it relate the worst of the story. Jugurtha, after he had given them audience made the following reply. “ That no- “ thing in the world was more revered and

* Machines composed of planks, hurdles, and raw hides, under cover of which the soldiers undermined the enemies fortifications.

136 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

"esteemed by him than the authority of the Ro-
 "man senate; from his youth up, he had used his
 "utmost endeavours to approve himself worthy
 "of the most virtuous applause; it was not by the
 "manifestation of any depravity of heart, but by
 "a display of every honourable qualification, that
 "he had recommended himself to the favour of
 "Publius Scipio, a man of such consummate
 "worth; perseverance in the like conduct had
 "influenced Micipsa in his favour, who, because
 "he would reward his merit, and not for any fail-
 "ure of issue of his own, adopted, and appointed
 "him joint successor to his kingdom; as to the
 "rest, that in proportion to the number of his ex-
 "ploits, and the magnanimity he had shown,
 "was the resentment of his soul under offered
 "injuries; Atherbal had treacherously devised
 "against his life; he had detected the villany and
 "opposed its operation; the Roman people would
 "lose sight of both equity and prudence, should
 "they restrain him from acting agreeable to the
 "law of nations, and in fine, that he would
 "shortly send ambassadors to Rome, who
 "should explain every point to the senate's sa-
 "tisfaction." The conference now over both
 parties separated, nor were the ambassadors al-
 lowed to hold any converse with Atherbal.

JUGURTHA, when he imagined that they had
 departed from Africa, and when he found that
 the storm of Cirta was impracticable, on account
 of

of the advantages of situation it enjoyed, surrounded the walls of the place with a rampart and deep trench, and erected towers in different places, which he secured with strong guards : unremitting in his vigilance either by night or day, he now assaulted openly, and anon by surprise ; at one time rewards were held out to the besieged, again the most dreadful menaces denounced ; no encouragement was spared to invigorate his own troops, while himself was alert and attentive to provide for every want.

ATHERBAL now feeling that his fortune was desperate, (pursued by a bloody and unrelenting foe, without prospect of assistance, and forbidden, by the approaches of famine, to think of protracting the war) chose out from the few companions of his flight into Cirta, two the most active and courageous : these his lavish promises, and deplorable tale of woe, stimulated to attempt the enemy's entrenchments in the night, whence they might reach the nearest sea-port and so proceed to Rome. The Numidians soon performed their errand, and thus Atherbal's letter came to be recited in the senate, which was conceived in the following strain.

“ THAT I apply to you so frequently in the
 “ voice of supplication, proceeds not, conscript
 “ fathers, from any misconduct of mine : it is in
 “ the violence of Jugurtha that you will trace
 “ the cause, who thirsts so eagerly after my blood,
 “ that

138 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

" that all thoughts of heaven or you are banished
 " from his breast ; it is my death which forms the
 " sum of all his wishes. This is the reason that
 " I, the ally and friend of the Roman people,
 " have been five months beleaguered by an hos-
 " tile force ; nor can the generous favours of the
 " dead Micipsa, nor all the terroures of your de-
 " crees, in any wise operate to my deliverance,
 " while famine and the sword press on with equal
 " fury to my destruction.

" I AM discouraged by my misfortunes from
 " entering deeper into Jugurtha's cruelties, for
 " already, alas ! experience has taught me what
 " degree of credit misery will obtain ! yet I may
 " add my opinion that his views extend beyond
 " my ruin, and that he wishes not for your friend-
 " ship when possessed of my kingdom : which of
 " these weighs most with him can be a secret to
 " no man ; the beginning of his outrage was the
 " murder of my brother Hiempsal, his next step
 " was to expel me from my native kingdom ;
 " thus far undoubtedly these injuries respect our-
 " selves, and do not come home to you ; but it is
 " otherwise now, for your own kingdom is made
 " the prize of his lawless invasion ; me whom you
 " appointed to the government of Numidia he
 " holds immured and closely besieged, and how
 " far he has paid attention to your ambassa-
 " dours commands, my alarming situation feel-
 " ingly declares.

" UNLESS

"UNLESS then your power assists me to re-
 "strain this usurper, what remnant of hope can
 "I cherish in my breast? alas! I should be much
 "more happy in knowing, that both my former
 "and present complaint before the senate was
 "feigned, than in a certainty of reconciling belief
 "to the story of my misfortunes. But since I was
 "born to be made an example of Jugurtha's
 "bloody crimes, I do not now pray for delive-
 "rance from either death or misery, all my wishes
 "are to be freed from this barbarian's power, and
 "to save my unhappy body from the torture of
 "the wheel. The kingdom of Numidia, which
 "is your own, dispose of as shall seem good to
 "you: but rescue me from the gripe of my in-
 "human foe? rescue me, I conjure you, by the
 "grandeur of your name, by holy friendship,
 "and by the memory (if indeed he is yet re-
 "membered) of my grandfather Masinissa?"

THIS letter being read, there were some in the
 senate who declared that an army should be sent
 into Africa, and Atherbal assisted with all con-
 venient speed; and that in the meantime, it was
 proper to debate on fit punishment for Jugurtha,
 who had dared to counteract the ambassadours
 commands. But that king's old allies were
 staunch in his cause, and laboured with all their
 powers to prevent the passing of an harsh decree;
 and thus, as is customary in such proceedings,
 the publick good gave place to private obligation.

NEVER-

140 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

NEVERTHELESS another embassy was appointed for Africa, and this consisted of certain of the nobility of more years and experience than the former deputies, and who had filled the highest departments of the state : amongst these was Scaurus (of whom before) a man of consular dignity, and then of the first consequence in the senate. As Jugurtha's proceedings had raised a violent flame against him, and as they were also pressed with eagerness by the messengers of Atharbal, the ambassadors got on shipboard within three days ; soon after which, arriving at Utica, they dispatched letters to Jugurtha, requiring his immediate presence, and informing him, that they now attended on him by order of the senate.

THAT king, when he found that these dignified men, whose authority he knew to be so respectable at Rome, had landed in Africa with avowed intentions to oppose his designs, was at first distracted between his fears and wishes : he dreaded the senate's resentment should he not submit to the ambassadors commands, and again his soul, which was hoodwinked by his passions, hurried him on to the accomplishment of his bloody purpose. Still, however, the wicked suggestion prevailed in his revengeful and ambitious heart, and therefore, surrounding Cirta with his whole army, he endeavoured to storm it by a general assault ; being confident that, while
the

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 141

the forces within were employed in defence against so many different attacks, some advantage would offer which might enable him, either by violence or stratagem, to master the place. But the issue of the experiment evinced the fallacy of his hopes, and therefore, when he found it impossible to effect his design of securing Atherbal's person before he waited on the ambassadours, lest Scaurus, whom he greatly feared, might be irritated by further procrastination, he marched into the Roman province, attended by a small body of horse. Yet, notwithstanding the vengeance of the senate was formally denounced against him if he did not immediately raise the siege, after much time had been wasted in ineffectual debates, the deputies returned home, and the embassy proved fruitless.

WHEN the rumour of this transaction was noised at Cirta, the Italians by whose bravery the place was defended, persuading themselves that, in case of surrender, the majesty of the Roman name would ensure their safety, advised Atherbal to yield himself, with the city, to Jugurtha, on the one condition of sparing his life; for that the senate would be careful to rectify the rest. Now tho' Atherbal was sensible that he ought to bear with every extremity, rather than put his trust in Jugurtha's faith; yet as opposition to this counsel would, he knew, be idle, since they who gave it could enforce it, he submitted to

to the Italians direction, and surrendered the place. But Jugurtha, on getting possession, first put Atherbal to a death of torture, and then gave orders for a general massacre of the strangers who traded to the city, and of all the Numidian youth.

WHEN this dreadful story was made publick at Rome, and came to be argued upon before the senate, the same prostitute advocates that had heretofore defended the king, again stood forth, and by frequent interruptions, now soothing, now contentious, protracted the time, thereby hoping to soften gradually the barbarity of his crimes ; and indeed unless Caius Memmius, the tribune elect, a man of discernment and intrepidity, and declared foe to the enormous power of the nobles, had instructed the people what scheme was in agitation, viz.—that Jugurtha, patronised by a few turbulent grandees, should escape with impunity tho' blackened by guilt, it is certain that the general hatred he had incurred would have subsided in the course of a tedious consultation ; so powerful was the influence of the faction, and so alluring the treasures of that king.

BUT when once the people were aroused, the senators began to tremble, for conscience told them their duty had been forgotten : therefore, agreeable to the Sempronian law, Italy and Numidia

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 143

numidia were decreed to the future consuls for their provinces ; these were Publius Scipio Nasica, and Lucius Bestia Calpurnius ; to Calpurnius was allotted Numidia, and to Scipio Italy ; then an army was enrolled for the African expedition, and provision made for its establishment, and for every other contingency of the war.

Soon as Jugurtha was apprized of the preparations so fatal to his hopes, (for it had become a settled principle with him, that every thing was offered to sale at Rome) he dispatched his own son on an embassy to the senate, together with two of his most intimate friends ; charging them, as he had those, who, after Hiempfal's murder, were sent on the like errand, to try the force of money on all ranks and degrees of men. When they approached Rome, Bestia took the sense of the senate, whether or not these ambassadours of Jugurtha should be admitted within the walls ? and it was then determined, that, " unless they " came to announce the absolute surrender of both " king and kingdom, they should depart from " Italy, at the furthest, within ten days." This resolution the consul caused to be notified to the Numidians, and thus, without fulfilling the purposes of their embassy, they returned home.

CALPURNIUS, meantime, having got his army in readiness, associated with himself, as companions of his expedition, some citizens of noble families

144 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

milies and bold intriguing spirits; whose influence would, he hoped, be sufficient to defeat any inquiry into his malpractices; one of these was Scaurus, of whose disposition and management some account has been already given: for tho' many shining qualifications, both of mind and body, adorned our consul, yet avarice clogged the operation of them all. He was hardy and capable of fatigue, of a keen active temper, very prudent, no stranger to the art of war, undaunted in battle, and calmly resolute under surprise.

WHEN every matter was adjusted, the legions marched through Italy to Rhegium, from whence they were transported to Sicily, and from Sicily forthwith into Africk. Calpurnius's first care was to provide abundance of provisions, this done, he made a spirited attack upon Numidia, took many prisoners, and stormed some cities: but on the instant that Jugurtha's ambassadours hung out the golden lure, with a frightful picture of the difficulties he must encounter, his sickly soul, poisoned by avarice, submitted at once to be enslaved. None, however, of these transactions passed without the concurrence and participation of Scaurus, who, altho' he had been Jugurtha's bitterest opponent from the commencement of this enterprise, and had persisted even after most of his party were gained over, was yet unable to resist the temptation of an extravagant bribe, and thus, his course of uprightness being interrupted, he

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 145

he was drawn aside into the paths of corruption.

JUGURTHA at first had entertained no opinion of prevailing, by his largesses, for more than a respite of the war, hoping that, in the meantime, his interest at Rome, might be furthered by the power of money, or connection : but now that he had vanquished the scruples of Scaurus, his hopes became elate with the prospect of peace, and he determined to treat in person on the terms. To secure his safe conduct, the quaëstor, Sextius, was sent by the consul into the city of Vacca, under pretext of receiving a quantity of corn, which Calpurnius had publickly enjoined the ambassadours to prepare ; for as Jugurtha had proposed submission, a truce was now observed.

THEN, agreeable to appointment, that monarch visited the Roman camp, and there, after a short introductory speech to the council of war, in extenuation of his guilt, and recommending himself to favour, he concluded every other matter relative to the treaty, in a private manner, with Bestia and Scaurus ; and the following day his submission was accepted of with as much formality, as if the opinion of the whole council had warranted the measure. Agreeable, however, to the commands laid on him publickly, thirty elephants, good store of cattle, a number of horses,

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and

146 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

and some silver were delivered to the quæstor. Then Calpurnius set out for Rome that he might be present at the election of magistrates ; meantime, in Numidia, and our army, all was peace.

As soon as the particulars of the African expedition were noised abroad, the consul became the topick of publick and private conversation ; the people were all in a violent ferment, the senators anxious and perplexed ; for as yet they were irresolute whether to ratify this infamous transaction, or totally disavow the consul's proceeding ; it was chiefly the power and influence of Scaurus that blocked up the avenues to truth and justice, as he had been Bestia's confederate and abettor.

BUT Caius Memmius (of whose bold independent spirit, and hatred to the overgrown power of the nobility, mention has already been made) while the senate continued thus doubtful and dilatory, harangued the people in their assemblies, and encouraged them to revenge : he counselled them not to desert their country's cause nor their own liberties, pointed out the many tyrannical and barbarous acts of the nobility, and spared no pains to inflame them with a sense of their wrongs. But as Memmius was celebrated in those days for his polished eloquence, I thought it not improper to copy, out of many, a single oration of his, and that one shall be especially my choice, which was delivered in publick after the
return

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 147

return of Bestia, and which was couched in the following strain.

“ If my attachment to this republick did not
“ triumph over every other consideration, I
“ should have been discouraged, my fellow ci-
“ tizens, from this address to you on many ac-
“ counts; there is a powerful faction to contend
“ with, and you are passive under oppression;
“ justice is banished from amongst us, and (which
“ is my strongest dissuasive) a man is now more
“ endangered by, than honoured for, integrity
“ of life.—It really pains me to relate how, for
“ fifteen years past, you have been scandalously
“ mocked at by a few haughty usurpers! how
“ inhumanly the assertors of your rights have
“ perished, while you basely suffered their deaths
“ to go unrevenged! how your souls have been
“ absorpt in cowardliness and sloth; insomuch
“ that you cannot rouse yourselves to action now
“ when your enemies are defenceless; but on
“ the contrary, even now, dread those very men
“ to whom you should prove the objects of terror
“ and apprehension!

“ YET, notwithstanding these untoward cir-
“ cumstances, my spirit prompts me to face this
“ faction; that liberty, which my progenitor
“ handed down to me, shall be exercised on this
“ occasion; but whether idly, or to the advan-
“ tage of our state, will rest, my fellow citizens,

148 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ on yourselves alone : I advise you not to take
“ up arms for the redress of your present injuries,
“ as your ancestors have often done ; you need
“ not have recourse to force, you need not retire
“ from Rome, the very measures pursued by
“ your oppressors must ensure their own destruc-
“ tion.

“ AFTER the murder of Tiberius Gracchus,
“ whom they taxed with aiming at the crown,
“ the people were exposed to the most grievous
“ persecution ; also, when Caius Gracchus and
“ Marcus Fulvius were assassinated, many of
“ your order were imprisoned and put to death ;
“ in either case, it was their own arbitrary man-
“ date, and not the voice of law, that closed the
“ scene of blood : but let us admit of their plea
“ in both ; let us say, with them, that the men
“ who restored to the people their rights, only
“ aimed at kingly power ; let us agree with them,
“ that, since no other adequate punishment of-
“ fered, it was legal to shed the blood of Roman
“ citizens !

“ AGAIN, you have heretofore beheld the
“ plunder of your treasury, you have seen a few
“ grandees share the tribute of mighty kingdoms
“ and republics, you have known these to be
“ the sources of all honour, authority and riches,
“ and you have been witnesses to these enormi-
“ ties with, only silent, indignation ! yet mark
“ the

“ the trivial value stamped upon the impunity
 “ with which their flagitious measures have been
 “ passed !—for have they not now, to crown their
 “ iniquities, prostituted the laws, debased the
 “ majesty of the Roman name, and infamously
 “ betrayed to your enemies every right, both
 “ human and divine ? they have ; and far from
 “ discovering either remorse or shame, they even
 “ affect to display their magnificence to your
 “ view ; some of them ostentatiously showing
 “ the trappings of the priesthood, some the en-
 “ signs of consular power, and some the parade
 “ of military triumph : as if these dignities were
 “ to be turned to an honourable account, and
 “ not to be disgraced by rapine and injustice.

“ THE very slaves which we purchase rebel a-
 “ gainst their master’s harsh commands, and can
 “ you, who are Romans, and born to empire,
 “ submit to be enslaved with patience and resig-
 “ nation ?

“ BUT who are they that have thus usurped
 “ the management of the state ? why, the most
 “ abandoned, bloody, and insatiably avaricious,
 “ the wickedest and most overbearing of men !—
 “ miscreants, who make a traffick of faith, ho-
 “ nour, or piety, and finally, of every vile or
 “ valuable principle !—some of them build their
 “ security on the murder of your tribunes, o-
 “ thers on having harassed you by iniquitous
 “ suits, but the general shield of defence is to be

“ stained with your blood ! thus the more dread-
 “ ful the crime, the more removed is the perpe-
 “ trator from punishment ; they have disencum-
 “ bered themselves of those terrors that should
 “ be attendant on their guilt, which are now
 “ fastened upon your indolence ; and their de-
 “ sires, their hatred and fears being the same,
 “ they are all, of necessity, confederated toge-
 “ ther : where the good associate thus, it is
 “ friendship that binds the chain, but amongst
 “ the vicious it is only faction.

“ If, however, you were as attentive to your
 “ liberties, as your rulers are eager after power,
 “ the situation of this republick would not be
 “ thus desolate and deplorable ; nor would these
 “ dignities, which flow from yourselves alone, be
 “ contaminated thus by insolence and guilt ; far
 “ otherwise, they would be given as merit’s re-
 “ ward.

“ Your ancestors, with a view to the recovery
 “ of their rights, and to the establishment of the
 “ grandeur of their name, withdrew to mount
 “ Aventine, and took possession of it under arms ;
 “ and will you not exert every power for the
 “ preservation of that liberty, thus nobly secur-
 “ ed, and delivered down to you, by them ? nay,
 “ shall not this effort be the more eager, inas-
 “ much as it is far more ignominious to forego
 “ the acquisitions made for us by others, than
 “ to

“ to have failed in making them for ourselves?

“ WILL any man say then--“how thinkest thou?

“ —why thus—I would have due punishment, inflicted on these traitors to their country, but I disclaim all violence and outrage on the occasion ; such proceeding would reflect dishonour on yourselves, otherwise the vengeance were most suited to the crime ; I would have them brought to a formal trial for their offences, I would confront them with Jugurtha, and convict them by his single testimony.”

“ IF this king has really surrendered, your commands will be implicitly obeyed ; if he treats them with contempt, you will then be able to form a competent judgment of this peace ; a peace by which Jugurtha is absolved of all his crimes, by which a few powerful nobles have amassed a world of riches, by which the honour of the Roman name is forfeited, and our dearest interests betrayed !

“ BUT it may be that you are not yet fatigued by your servitude ; it may be that any revolution would prove less acceptable than those times, when kingdoms, provinces, and the laws, when our rights, the tribunals of justice, the power of making peace or war, and all things, in conclusion, both divine and human

152 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ man were entirely at the option of, and regulated, by a cabal, while you, meantime, (the mighty Roman people ! the unconquered nation ! the sovereigns of the earth !) accounted yourselves happy in a privilege to breathe ! for was there a man amongst you bold enough to refuse the yoke of bondage ?

“ As to my part, tho’ I hold him lost in infamy who tamely crouches beneath the oppressor’s rod, yet would I, since these most iniquitous wretches are Roman citizens, submit with patience to see their pardon ratified, was it not that compassion, in this case, is but another word for ruin. Assure yourselves these men are so stubbornly vicious, that present forgiveness is lost upon them, unless their power to do further mischief is restrained ; and consider what eternal anxiety you will labour under when it shall appear, that you have no resource against slavery but arming in defence of freedom : for what dependance can you found upon them ? how look for future harmony ? they want to usurp an insolent authority, you wish to be free ; they endeavour at injury and oppression, you struggle to restrain both ; lastly, your foes, they treat as allies, and like enemies your friends ; when your affections and desires are thus contradictory, is it possible that peace and mutual amity can lodge within your bosoms ? away with such idle expectations and be advised

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 153

“ vifed by me, not to fuffer this notorious wickednefs to pafs unrevenged !

“ OUR prefent grievance is not a robbery of the exchequer, nor is it the fhamelefs pillage of our allies ; thefe are doubtlefs, in themfelves, very high offences, but, occurring fo frequently, they are looked on as insignificant : no—it is that the fenatorial authority, it is that your own empire has been infamoufly betrayed to your bittereft foe ! the honour of our government has been prostituted both at home and abroad ! thefe are the fores that afflict us, and if they are not probed, if our guilty tormentors are allowed to triumph in our woes, what remains for us but a life of fubjection to their wills ?——exemption from punifhment is the privilege of kings.

“ I WISH not, Romans, to prejudice your minds ; I feek not to infil fuch hatred to thefe offenders, as might make the conviction of their guilt more pleafing than the manifeftation of their innocence ; my intent is only to demonftrate how virtue may fuffer by your neglecting to ftop the progrefs of vice. I may remark to you, befides, that a ftate like ours is lefs difadvantaged, by ungratefully forgetting good offices, than criminally overlooking the bad :—when the worthy man is neglected, it only damps his ardour, but indulgence to the
“ wicked

154 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“wicked is fuel to the flames. I shall add no more, but that when the one is quelled, you have the less occasion to call for the assistance of the other.”

By this, and other speeches of the same tendency made by Memmius, the Roman people were persuaded to depute the prætor Cassius, to Jugurtha, whom they ordered him to conduct to Rome, upon the security of the publick faith; that having the benefit of his testimony, they might the more easily convict Scaurus and his companions, who appeared to have been bribed to betray their country.

WHILE this was the state of affairs at Rome, Bestia's lieutenants in Numidia, copying after their general's manners, were guilty of numberless shocking enormities: some, influenced by gold, restored the elephants to Jugurtha; others sold him the deserters, and there were those who robbed and pillaged the nations in alliance with us: not less infectious than a pestilence to the human body, was the poison of avarice to their minds. Meantime the proposal of Memmius was passed into a law, and Cassius, the prætor, to the dismay of the whole body of nobility, proceeded on his embassy to Jugurtha; and tho' this king was timorous and irresolute from a consciousness of his guilt, he yet found means to persuade him, that, since he had submitted to the

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THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 155

the power of Rome, it was more eligible to sue there for mercy and compassion, than to incur, by further opposition, the effects of the people's indignation. He pledged, besides, his own honour for his personal safety, which Jugurtha held as binding as the publick faith; so celebrated in those days was Cassius for integrity of heart!

THUS then Jugurtha accompanied Cassius to Rome, unattended by any kingly pomp, and arrayed in the deepest garb of woe, whither being arrived, (altho' his own resolution was naturally very great, and notwithstanding it was confirmed by the assurances of all those, whose guilty authority had countenanced his former atrocious crimes) he engaged, at a vast expence, Caius Bæbius, a tribune of the people, to plead his cause; hoping that his effrontery would stifle the cries of justice, and secure him from the vengeance due to his crimes.

AN assembly of the people was now called by Memmius, and tho' Jugurtha was the avowed object of their hatred, insomuch that some of them were loud for his imprisonment, and others, that he should (as had been the ancient usage) suffer death as an enemy, unless he disclosed the names of his infamous associates, yet more careful of their reputation and renown, than willing to indulge this resentful passion, he applied himself with diligence to calm their transports, and pacify
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their rage ; and, at length, prevailed upon them to observe inviolate the publick faith. Then, when all was hush, he ordered Jugurtha to be brought forward, and began his charge against him : he enumerated all the instances of his guilt which had been manifest either at Rome or in Numidia, pointed out the blackness of his ingratitude to his beneficent father, mentioned his savage barbarity to his brothers, and told him, that the Roman people, tho' they had sufficient information of his abettors, and accomplices, yet wished to be assured more particularly from his own mouth ; that if his testimony appeared ingenuous, he might confidently repose on their clemency and honour, but that if he concealed the truth, far from serving his confederates, he would thus absolutely seal his own perdition.

MEMMIUS ended here, and Jugurtha was ordered to reply ; but then Caius Bæbius the tribune of the people (whose patronage, I have already said, was secured by the king's treasures) commanded him to hold his peace ; and notwithstanding the multitude which formed the assembly were aroused to fury, and strove to deter him by dreadful threats and menacing gestures, nay, by even actual violence, and every other effusion of wrath, yet did his matchless impudence bear him over all : thus the people were baffled and the assembly broke up, while Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others, who were tortured by this examination,

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THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 157

on, increased in confidence and swelled with their success.

THERE was then at Rome a Numidian, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson to Masinissa : at the time of the dispute between the two monarchs he had opposed Jugurtha, and therefore, when Cirta was surrendered, and Atherbal slain, he forsook Africa, a self banished man. Him Spurius Albinus, who, with Quintus Minucius Rufus, succeeded Bestia in the consulate, persuaded to sue to the senate for the crown of Numidia ; seeing that he was descended from Masinissa, and Jugurtha, so universally detested, and so overwhelmed with doubt and apprehension : war was this consul's ruling passion, and publick disturbances more pleasing to him than tranquillity and peace ; Numidia too had fallen to him by lot, while Minucius obtained Macedonia for his province.

WHEN Massiva began to stir in this business, and his adversary found that dependance on his former friends was very precarious, (conscience working with some, his villanous character, and their personal fears, restraining others,) he commanded Bomilcar, who was the depositary of all his secrets, and most attached to his cause, to hire assassins to dispatch Massiva, an employment to which he was no stranger ; directing him besides to conduct this murder in the most private manner,

ner, but if that could not be, to compass it at any rate.

BOMILCAR was not slow in executing his king's commands; he therefore engaged a band of ruffians, well trained to such enterprises, to watch all Massiva's motions, and to observe every opportunity of time and place; then when occasion offered he planted his bravoës: one of these miscreants, thus prepared for murder, attacked his victim somewhat too precipitately; he slew him indeed, but was apprehended in the fact, and by many persuasions, especially those of the consul Albinus, induced to promise a full discovery. This made, Bomilcar was impeached, tho' attendant on him, who had the publick faith for his security in Rome; thus this proceeding which was dictated by justice and reason, was not such as the law of nations authorized.

It was now manifest, beyond contradiction, that Jugurtha planned this dreadful murder, yet did he not cease his endeavours to defeat all further inquiry, until he found that neither his treasures nor connections could conquer the detestation which followed his crime: therefore, notwithstanding he had given, on the first arraignment of Bomilcar, fifty of his friends, as sureties, that he should abide the issue of his trial, yet, more anxious about his kingdom's concerns, than for the security of these hostages, he conveyed away
Bomilcar

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 159

Bomilcar privately to Numidia ; for he feared his subjects would, in future, be timorous of acting under his authority, if this man should be punished for obedience to his commands ; for that kingdom he himself set out soon after, being ordered by the senate to depart from Italy ; but on leaving Rome, it is said, he often looked back upon it in silence, and that at last these words escaped his lips, “ Venal and corrupt city, soon would’st thou seal thy infamy and ruin, was there but a “ purchaser equal to thy terms !”

THE war being now renewed, Albinus lost no time in transporting to Africa provisions and money to pay the troops, with whatever else he thought useful for them upon the occasion ; he then immediately set out upon this expedition, wishing to terminate the war either by force or treaty, or any other method which might offer, before the election of new magistrates superseded his command, and this was an event not far removed. But Jugurtha knew it was his interest to protract the time, and therefore opposed every obstacle to the hasty conclusion of the war ; one while he would propose to yield, and anon excuse himself by affecting fear and distrust ; now he would fly before the consul, and presently, that his troops might not be discouraged, he would attack in his turn ; thus by spinning out the war, and by offering terms of ac-
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160 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

commodation, the consul was baffled in all his designs.

THERE were not wanting those who thought Albinus had a feeling with the king; and that it was not owing so much to indolence as treachery, that the conclusion of a war, so alertly undertaken, could be thus easily delayed: be that as it may, when, in process of time, the day for the election of magistrates drew near, Albinus departed from Africa to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus to command in the camp, as prætor, in his stead.

ROME was at this time dreadfully convulsed by the tribunes seditions: Publius Lucullus, and Lucius Annius, who were two of those officers that year, struggled to continue themselves in the magistracy, tho' fiercely opposed by their colleagues, and this dispute obstructed any election for that whole year. When Aulus (who, as has been said before, was left in the camp with the authority of prætor) got information of this delay, it induced him to hope that he might be able to finish the war, or to extort, by the terrour of his arms, a weighty bribe from the king; wherefore, having called his soldiers from their winter quarters to action in the month of January, he appeared suddenly before the city of Suthul, where Jugurtha's treasures were deposited, after an harassing

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 161

raising march, in the most rigorous season of the year.

THE advantages of its situation and the severity of the season, secured this city not only from being taken, but even from the danger of a siege; for all around the walls, which were built on the height of a craggy precipice, was a marshy plain, now flooded by the winter inundations: yet, in spite of these forbidding circumstances, Aulus commenced his preparations, advancing his moving galleries, raising his mounds, and expediting every matter which might serve his present purpose; he either affected these vigorous measures to alarm Jugurtha, or, blinded by his desires to possess the treasure, had a real design upon the town.

MEANTIME Jugurtha, who was no stranger to his ignorance and vanity, increased by various wiles the madness which had seized him; many embassies were sent him in the strain of supplication, while himself, as if willing to escape the prætor, led off his army into a country full of forests, and abounding with dangerous defiles. Finally by these mock proposals he wrought upon Aulus to give up his design upon Suthul and pursue him in his feigned retreat, where, by the remoteness of the region, his schemes would, he hoped, be less liable to detection. Then some of Jugurtha's most subtle agents were dispersed a-

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162 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

amongst the Roman soldiers, whom they were to tempt from their duty by continual offers of reward: some centurions, and horse officers, they prevailed on to desert, while others were engaged, upon a signal given, to fly from their posts; and thus having succeeded according to his desire, he suddenly surrounded the camp of Aulus, with a vast army of Numidians, at the dead of night.

AFFRIGHTED by the unusual uproar, the Roman soldiers flew, some to their arms, some to places of concealment, while others laboured to inspire the timorous with courage. Every quarter was a scene of tumult and confusion; the enemy was numerous and valiant, the heavens involved in clouds and darkness, destruction loomed on every side, nor could they determine whether it was safest to resist or fly. At this juncture, one cohort of Ligurians, two troops of Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers, (part of those who, as I have already mentioned, had been bribed to treachery) forsook their stations and passed over to the king; whilst the centurion of the first company of the third legion gave the enemy free entrance through a quarter of the camp, which he had taken upon himself to defend, and that way the whole body of Numidians rushed into the intrenchments; then all was ignominious rout amongst our troops, who, many of them without arms, took possession of a neighbouring hill, but
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THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 163

the obscurity of the night, and plunder of the camp, prevented the Numidians from improving the victory.

THE following day, in a conference with Aulus, Jugurtha told him "that altho' he was now doubly in his power, since he could destroy both him and his whole army, either by famine or the sword, yet still he experienced the feelings of humanity, and considered the uncertainty of sublunary events;—that if he would enter into a league with him, his and their lives should be safe, but that they must all pass under the yoke, and depart Numidia within ten days." These were mortifying and most infamous conditions: however, as death was the alternative, the king's terms were acceded to, and peace was made.

WHEN the detail of these circumstances was published at Rome, the whole city became a prey to grief and confusion. Some bewailed the sullied brightness of the Roman glory, others, (less acquainted with the fluctuating events of war,) feared that this defeat might be destructive to their liberties; but all were loud and bitter against Aulus, (especially those who had often signalized themselves in war,) because he had submitted to this indignity with an armed force under his command, rather than seek to extricate himself by a brave defence. On all these accounts the consul Albinus (fearing that this vile proceeding of his

brother might prove a source of hatred and peril to himself) consulted the senate upon this peace : nevertheless he, in the meantime, enrolled some additional forces, made a requisition of assistance from the allies, and all the Latin states, and hastened his measures with remarkable industry.

THE senate's opinion on the peace was such as it ought to be, namely, " that unauthorized by " their own, and the people's assent, no accommodation could be valid ; " so the consul, (debarred by the popular magistrates from carrying with him those troops which he had raised for the expedition,) set out for Africa within a few days ; for all our troops which had been withdrawn, agreeable to the convention, from Numidia, were now in their winter quarters in the Roman province.

AFTER his arrival tho' he burned to be revenged of Jugurtha, and to extenuate, by some exploit, the publick odium against his brother, yet when he examined the condition of the forces, they were found to be so very unfit for duty, (as added to the humiliating circumstances of their flight, they had moreover, unrestrained by discipline, yielded themselves up to licentiousness and debauchery) that, upon due consideration, he was convinced there was nothing to be done.

AT Rome, meanwhile, the following draught of a law was proposed to the people, by Caius Mamilius

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 165

Mamilius Limetanus, their tribune; “ that in-
“ quisition should be made against every one of
“ those who had abetted Jugurtha in his contempt
“ of the senate’s decrees ;—against such ambassa-
“ dours to, or commanders against him, as had ac-
“ cepted of any pecuniary favours ;--against those
“ who had restored him the elephants, and be-
“ trayed the deserters into his hands, and finally,
“ against all who had dared to enter into any sort
“ of treaty with professed enemies.”

THIS motion was opposed by many from a consciousness that it reached their crimes ; while others were against it on account of the party violence which, they feared, would occasion some terrible convulsion ; however, as they durst not avow their disapprobation of this, and such like measures, nay, tho’ they were even necessitated to assume an air of satisfaction and acquiescence, they yet, secretly, engaged their friends in the opposition, and, of these, especially the citizens from Latium, and other Italian states. But it is incredible with what resolution the people persevered, how impetuously they required the propounding of this bill, with what eagerness they assented to it, and ratified it into law ! yet this zeal did not flow from true patriotism, but from their hatred to the nobles, at whom the severity was aimed ; so rancorous was the animosity that inflamed the different factions.

Now whilst the other grandees were overwhelmed with consternation, Marcus Scaurus, whom I named before as Bestia's lieutenant, availing himself of the people's triumphant joy, of the timorous retreat of his friends, and of the general disorder, so managed it, that he was appointed one of the three commissioners, who were to hold this inquisition according to the Mamilian law. The trials followed in course, and were conducted with no less rigour than injustice, in compliance with the humour and dictates of the populace: this was the period of their prosperity, and, agreeable to the frequent usage of the nobility, they exercised in it every insolence of power.

TRANQUILLITY and affluence, those pillars of human felicity, had introduced into Rome, but a few years before, this distinction of the senatorial and popular parties, and were the remote causes of the many subsequent mischiefs: for while Carthage yet stood, the affairs of government were managed jointly by senate and people, with mildness and moderation:—no contest for splendour or authority then disturbed the citizens repose; they feared a dangerous enemy, and therefore persevered in virtue. But when once this cause of terrour was removed, the attendants on prosperity, lust and pride, succeeded to its place, and took possession of their breasts: thus enjoying that publick quiet, which, while
harassed

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 167

harassed by difficulties, they had so much desired, they experienced nothing in it save bitterness and wo; for the nobles began to abuse their authority, and the people their liberty, to their own sinister purposes, all were for plunder, pillage, and rapine, and thus, by the struggles of each faction to draw every thing within its own vortex, the commonwealth, which lay between them, was rent in pieces.

THE party of the nobles was, however, the most powerful, as it was the most compact; their opponents vigour being diffused through, and shared by, such a multitude, it could not operate to equal advantage. The regulation of affairs then, both in peace and war, was entirely engrossed by a few members of the state; the treasury, the provinces, the publick dignities, the glory and triumphs were all their own; the hardships of war were the allotments of the poor, and pinching poverty the reward of their fatigue; nay the very spoils won in battle were torn from their grasp, and shared by their generals with the rest of the faction, while their aged parents, or helpless children were suffering their proportion of misery at home, being expelled their habitations at the will of some tyrannical neighbour.

THUS poisoned by avarice, and puffed up with power, they seized on, defiled, and desolated all things;

168 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

things; despising every human consideration, nay holiness itself, until their guilt and enormities plunged them all into perdition. For on the instant that there appeared, in the body of nobility, men who preferred true glory to usurped dominion, the city was shaken with the most violent commotions, and such a storm of civil fury arose, as if all nature was convulsed, and labouring to dissolution.

FOR whenever Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors had helped to aggrandize the state, by their services in the Punick and other wars, began to assert the people's privileges, and to lay open the iniquities of the prevailing faction, the self-convicted and affrighted nobles formed a party amongst the confederates, and Latin citizens, as also amongst the Roman knights, (who, flattered by the expectation of sharing the spoils of government, had been induced to desert the popular cause,) and thus assisted, they prepared to counteract these measures of the Gracchi. First then Tiberius fell a victim to their fury, and a few years after, Caius, who had engaged in the same pursuit; both fell, tho' the former was tribune of the people, and the latter one of the three commissioners for transplanting and settling the colonies, with him too Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was slain: undoubtedly the Gracchi were too impetuous, and over eager to triumph in the success of their schemes; since it

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THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 169

is better to submit with patience to our wrongs, than to seek for redress by unjustifiable means.

HAVING thus ascertained their superiority, the nobles gave the fullest scope to their resentment, depopulating the city by banishment and the sword, and, by their subsequent proceeding, extorting obedience from the people's fears, rather than adding to the reality of their power; to this solecism in government many opulent states have owed their ruin; in the violent contests between parties for pre-eminence, the pernicious means of acquiring it are never adverted to, and once obtained, it is exercised with the most unrelenting barbarity. But should I attempt an exact account of these civil feuds, and such a detail of the citizens conduct as the subject would require, time would be wanting to exhaust my matter, and therefore I resume the thread of my narration.

AFTER the peace made by Aulus, and our army's opprobrious flight, Metellus and Silanus, the new made consuls, settled the partition of the provinces, and Metellus got Numidia; this was a man of enterprising courage, and, tho' no friend to the plebeian faction, universally revered for spotless integrity of life. Upon his entering into office, it became his immediate care to provide for the contingencies of that war in which he was to be personally concerned; all other affairs he left

170 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

left to his colleague, knowing it to be equally incumbent on him to watch over them. In consequence, as he had little dependance on the old army, new levies were made, auxiliaries sought for in every quarter, armour, weapons, horses, and all sorts of warlike implements provided, together with abundance of provision, and every other requisite for the support of a war wherein much variety was to be expected, and in which many wants were to be supplied. Besides his measures were all forwarded by the countenance of the senate, by voluntary aids from the allies, the Latin states, and tributary kings, and finally by the general zeal of the people.

AT length, when his arrangements were all made to his mind, he set out for Numidia amidst the acclamations of the citizens, who, tho' they had all reason to build their hopes on his noble endowments, were yet more elevated by the certainty that his soul was proof against corruption; for it was the avaricious temper of our own officers which had, hitherto, impeded the progress of the Numidian war, and increased the power and confidence of the foe.

BEING arrived in Africa, the army of Spurius Albinus, the proconsul, was surrendered to his command; but the troops, (long strangers to subordination or restraint) were grown indolent and effeminate; neither willing to face danger, nor capable

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 171

pable of fatigue ; more insolent with their tongues than active with their hands ; the pillagers of their confederates and plunder of their enemies. Thus dissolute in manners they rather embarrassed their new general, than strengthened or encouraged him by their addition. On this account Metellus, (notwithstanding he knew that, by the delay in chusing magistrates, good part of the season for action had elapsed, and tho' he was sensible that every Roman bosom swelled with expectation of the event,) determined against entering upon action at all, until he had revived the ancient discipline, and made it habitual to his troops.

FOR as the defeat of the forces under his brother Aulus had made a fearful impression on Albinus's mind, he had thence resolved not to pass the boundaries of our province ; and therefore, what time of the summer he retained the command, his army was stationed in one particular camp, until the filth of such a multitude poisoned the air, or scarcity of provender compelled him to remove. But then there was no appointment or relief of sentinels in this camp, agreeable to the usual practice in war ; the soldiers absented themselves from their standards at pleasure ; the sutlers too mingling with them, they roamed at large both day and night, wasting the fields in straggling parties, assaulting the villages, vieing with one another in their prizes of cattle and slaves, and openly trafficking them away with the
merchants,

merchants, who brought wine and such like commodities into the camp : they sold, moreover, the grain provided for them at the publick expence, purchasing at the same time bread for daily sustenance ; and, to sum up all, whatever wickedness can be either imagined or expressed, whatever depraved excesses sloth and luxury can lead to, with all these was this army poisoned, nay with vices still more heinous.

I FIND, however, that this difficulty was conquered by Metellus with no less magnanimity and prudence than he manifested in affairs of war : so nicely did he trim the balance between mildness and severity.—Thus his first proclamation struck down the very props of indolence, the words of it being “ that, for the future, no person
“ should presume to expose either bread, or any
“ prepared meats to sale in the camp ; that no
“ sutlers should follow the army ; and that none
“ of the common soldiers should employ a servant
“ or beast of burden, either while encamped or
“ when on a march ;” meantime he restrained other irregularities by the most dexterous management : add to this that, by marches and countermarches, he daily changed the situation of his camp ; secured it still by strong palisades and an ample trench, just as if the enemy was at hand to attack it ; placed numerous sentries, relieved them frequently, and visited them all in turns, attended by his lieutenants : upon a march, he
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was now in the van, presently in the rear, and often in the centre of his troops, careful that the soldiers should not stray from their ranks, that they should follow, in close order, their particular ensigns, and that each man carried at once his arms and provisions. Thus by restraining them from evil, rather than by harshness and cruelty, he, in a short time, restored the courage and discipline of his troops.

JUGURTHA, meanwhile, being informed of this proceeding by his spies, and being assured, from his own experience at Rome, that the honour of Metellus was impregnable, began to feel despondence, and then, for the first time, to entertain a serious view of surrendering. He therefore appointed an embassy of supplication to the consul, with instructions to stipulate for only his own and his childrens lives, and to yield up all besides to the Roman people.

EXPERIENCE of former days had taught Metellus, that the Numidians were prone to treachery, of a fluctuating disposition, and eager after novelty; he therefore addressed himself to each of the ambassadours separately, and when, after some slight advances, he found they might be wrought upon, he prevailed with them, by promises of extravagant rewards, to betray Jugurtha (if possible) alive into his hands, or, if that could not be accomplished, to yield up his breathless corse: then,
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174 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

in a publick audience, he made known to them his will and pleasure, and ordered them to report the conditions to their king.

SHORTLY after this conference he penetrated into Numidia, at the head of a well disciplined and exasperated army ; there he found the cottages crowded with inhabitants, the fields stored with cattle, and the husbandmen busied in tilling their grounds ; very unusual appearances in times of war ! meanwhile he was met by the royal commissaries, advancing in procession from the different towns and villages, who declared their readiness to supply him with corn, to furnish provisions, and in one word, to pay obedience to all his commands.

BUT this ceremony did not abate the vigilance of Metellus, who continued his march in battle array, as if in the neighbourhood of an hostile army ; he distrusted these outward marks of submission, fearing they veiled some mischievous design, and therefore his emissaries were dispatched far and wide for intelligence, while all suspicious places were explored with infinite caution : pursuant to these measures, he himself led the van, attended by the light armed cohorts with a chosen body of slingers and archers ;—the rear was intrusted to Caius Marius, his lieutenant, at the head of the cavalry, and on both flanks he distributed the auxiliary horse, under the command

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 175

mand of the legionary tribunes and captains of cohorts; designing, if attacked on either by the enemy's horse, that the light infantry should mingle with these, and repel the assault: for Jugurtha was so full of art and wiles, had such knowledge of the ground, and was so skilled in war, that it was doubtful whether he was most dangerous, near at hand, or far removed, while treating for peace, or avowedly a foe.

THERE was, at no great distance from Metellus's line of march, a city named Vacca, the most celebrated emporium of all Numidia, and abounding with Italians who either trafficked or resided there. In this the consul established a Roman garrison, intending thereby to sound the people's dispositions, and to avail himself, if they proved favourable, of the advantages of this situation; thither, moreover, he ordered the countrymen to carry grain, and every other article necessary for the war, as wisely considering that such a concourse of traders would readily supply all the wants of his army, that the provisions so abundantly furnished would refresh his soldiers, and that the measures he had already planned would be thus secured from defeat.

WHILE he was busied in these matters, Jugurtha renewed his supplicating embassies with additional earnestness; imploring peace, and offering to surrender all things, save only his and
his

176 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

his childrens lives, to the consul's mercy. These deputies, like the former, were debauched from their duty, and, having promised to betray their master, dismissed by Metellus: to Jugurtha's proposals no definitive answer was returned—the peace he sought was neither granted nor refused; for it was the consul's intention to spin out the time, that the ambassadours might thus have opportunity to fulfil their engagements.

Now when Jugurtha compared Metellus's actions with his words, and found that his own wiles were practised against him; when he saw that, notwithstanding his language was peace, his deeds realized the very bitterness of war, that the most powerful of all his cities was estranged from him, that the nature of his country was made familiar to the foe, and his subjects tampered with for the purposes of seduction, compelled by the extremity to which he was reduced, he, at length, resolved to have recourse to arms. Wherefore when, after watching all the enemy's motions, he observed a situation which flattered his hopes of victory, the most numerous forces he could raise were gathered together from every quarter, with which he posted through the secret passes and thus outstript Metellus's army.

THERE WAS, in that part of Numidia which, on the division, had fallen to Atherbal, a river that flowed from the south and was called Muthul.

Distant

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 177

Distant from it almost twenty miles, and of the same extent, was a naturally wild and uncultivated mountain, and from the middle of this a sort of rising ground stretched forward a great way into the country, overspread with wild olive, myrtle, and such like trees, which flourish in a dry and sandy soil: the flat that lay between was destitute of water, and therefore desert and uninhabited, save where it approached the river; here there were many plantations, much cattle, and crowds of husbandmen.

ON this hill then (which I have described, as shooting itself across the plain) Jugurtha formed his army in one extended shallow line: the elephants, with part of the infantry, were committed to Bomilcar's care, who had his instructions how to act; while himself took his station nigher to the mountain, at the head of all his cavalry, and the flower of the foot: then passing through the different troops and companies, he admonished and besought them with all the energy of words, to call to mind their former bravery, and the conquest it had been crowned with, and to exert every effort in defending themselves, and their native country, from the attacks of insatiable Rome: they were to contend, he said, with those very men, whom they had heretofore conquered and compelled to pass under the yoke, and who, tho' they had changed their leader, were not improved in resolution: that for his own part, he

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178 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

had taken every measure of precaution which a prudent general ought to adopt,—he had secured an advantageous situation, where they, who knew the passes, were to engage with an enemy unacquainted with the country, he had gathered such a force as outnumbered his adversaries, and he had taken care that his soldiers should be as well trained to war: finally, he exhorted them to be vigilant and ready for attacking the Romans, upon a signal given; assuring them, that the event of this day's battle, would be either rest from their fatigues, and the crown of all their victories, or the source of blackest misery and wo.

THIS admonition he gave weight to by singling out each individual, whose bravery he had rewarded, either by presents or preferment, and him, after reminding him of his former kindneffes, he held forth to the view of others, by way of exciting emulation: in a word, suiting himself to their various tempers, he promised, threatened, and implored, and was thus animating them all, when, in the meantime, Metellus, (before a stranger to their posture or designs) beheld them in his descent from the mountain with his army.

AT first it puzzled him to explain so extraordinary a phænomenon, for both horse and foot, of the Numidians, were stationed in the cover, and tho' the trees were too low to screen them altogether from the view, yet it was difficult to
make

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 179

make out what the appearances meant; for the place was naturally fit for dark purposes, and themselves, with their military ensigns, were very artfully concealed; but it was not long until he perceived there was an ambush before him, and therefore he staid, for a while, his march.

DURING this pause he made a new arrangement of his forces, converting his right flank, which was next the enemy, into the line of battle, and drawing it up three deep; amongst the companies he then dispersed the archers and slingers, posted all the cavalry upon the wings, and having delivered a short occasional exhortation to the soldiers, led his army thus marshalled (the flank being now the front) down to the plain. There, when he found that the Numidians moved not, nor attempted to forsake their station on the hill, fearing lest his army should be oppressed by thirst, as the season was sultry, and water very scarce, he sent on to the river his lieutenant, Rutilius, with the light armed foot, and some squadrons of horse, to secure, beforehand, a place for his encampment; he imagined, moreover, that his progress would be interrupted by repeated attacks and skirmishing on his flanks, and that since the enemy durst not risk a fair engagement, they meant to try how far fatigue and thirst would annoy his troops.

THEN Metellus in person proceeded slowly on his march, as the circumstances and situation required, and in the same order he descended from the mountain ; Marius having charge of the centre, and himself commanding the horse of the left wing, which, as they were now moving forward, became the van of his army. When Jugurtha perceived that the rear of the Romans had passed the most advanced of his own troops, he instantly seized on the mountain, which Metellus had left, and placed on it a guard of two thousand foot, meaning thus to debar the foe from retiring thither, if defeated, and of availing themselves of the protection it might afford ; this done, he, on a sudden, gave the signal, and began the attack.

THE Numidians then fell, some of them, upon our rear, while others strove to make an impression on our right and left flanks ; their onset was violent and fiercely maintained, and disordered, everywhere, the Roman lines ; for even they who opposed them with the greatest resolution, were baffled by the irregularity of the combat, being wounded by some chance missile weapon from afar, whilst they remained unable to return the blow or bring their enemies to a close engagement : for Jugurtha's horsemen, who had been previously instructed by him, when the Roman cavalry began to pursue, did not fly in a body, nor to any particular place, but in contrary directions,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 181

directions, and scattered wide from one another ; and thus, having the advantage of numbers, if at any time their adversaries could not be deterred from the pursuit, they surrounded them, all in disorder, and assailed them in flank or rear : again, if it appeared safer, or was more convenient to escape to the hill than along the plain, the Numidian horses, well accustomed to the ground, soon made their way through the coppice, whither ours, not familiarized to this uneven country, would not adventure to follow them. Thus the whole affair wore an aspect of confusion and uncertainty, was big with horror, and clouded with wo ; many were disunited from their own people, and fought with various success, some pursuing as conquerours, others forced from the field ; no standards were followed, no order was observed ; wherever danger assailed the individual, there he opposed it, and defended himself ; armour and weapons, men and horses, friends and foes, were all jumbled together ; no plan was attended to, no injunctions obeyed ; every circumstance was regulated by chance alone.

THE day was now far spent, and the victory still undetermined, when, at length, Metellus, upon observing that the Numidians abated of their vigour, (for indeed both armies were exhausted by the heat and fatigue) brought back his soldiers gradually to their ground, restored the broken ranks, and ranged four legionary cohorts

182 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

against the enemy's infantry, great part of which had occupied the higher grounds, being languid and jaded by the business of the day: at the same time he besought and exhorted his men not to shrink, nor submit to be vanquished by a flying foe; he told them they had neither camp nor fortification whither to bend their retreat, so that their security depended solely on their personal valour. Nor was Jugurtha idle in the meanwhile; taking a circuit round the lines, he laboured to animate his forces, reinstated the battle in many places, and attended by the flower of his army, left nothing unattempted; giving the needful support to his own people, pressing hard upon the enemy where they wavered, and deterring the bravest of them from advancing by showers of darts.

THIS was the manner in which these two generals, both men of most extensive abilities, contended for the superiority; equally accomplished themselves, the circumstances which favoured them were not, however, the same; Metellus commanded an army of approved bravery, but the ground was against him; while Jugurtha had the advantage in every thing save soldiers alone. In a word, when the Romans found that they had no place of refuge, that the enemy would not suffer them to come to a close engagement, and that the day was already shutting in, they pursued their general's instructions, assaulted,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 183

ed, and gained the hill; the Numidians, having lost the place, were dispersed and put to the rout, a few only lost their lives in the field, most of them being saved by their own swiftness, and their enemies ignorance of the country.

DURING these transactions Bomilcar, to whose command, as I have said before, the elephants, with part of the infantry, were intrusted by Jugurtha, as soon as Rutilius had passed him by, marched his army down gently into the plain; and while the lieutenant proceeded expeditiously to the river, to which he was sent forward, he drew up his forces in a silence suited to the emergency, observing, at the same time, with unremitting vigilance, every motion of the enemy.

FINDING, at length, that Rutilius had encamped and was unsuspecting of mischief, and hearing, at the same time, more distinctly the uproar from the field of battle, he became apprehensive that the lieutenant, informed by the noise of what was passing, might return to succour his suffering friends, and therefore, (tho' at first, distrusting their courage, he had formed his troops into close thick ranks) he now extended his lines considerably to intercept the Romans in their march, and, in this order, moved onwards to Rutilius's camp.

AN immense and sudden cloud of dust now struck our people's view, the trees being in such abundance

184 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

abundance as to preclude a more exact observation, and this was, they thought at first, occasioned by the wind stirring up the dry and sandy soil ; but presently, upon seeing it continue of the same proportion, and approach nearer to the camp (as the army under it moved on) the business became apparent, they ran hastily to arms, and ranged themselves before the camp, by the general's command.

WHEN the enemy had now advanced close up to them, the engagement began with a prodigious shout from both sides ; but the Numidians only kept their ground while they depended on their elephants, for on the instant that they beheld them entangled amongst the branches of the trees, thrown thereby into disorder, and surrounded by the Romans, they all turned their backs and fled from the field : while the adjoining eminence, and the approaching darkness, enabled most of them to secure their lives, after casting away their arms : four elephants were taken, the rest, being forty in number, were slain.

THIS action over, the Romans, tho' they had been so harassed by a long march, by fortifying their camp, and by the conflict with the enemy, and notwithstanding they were transported by the happy events of the day, upon finding that Metellus delayed beyond expectation, moved forward

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 185

ward to meet him in order, and with circumspection ; for the Numidian guile forbade indulgence to their languor, and guarded them against neglect. These two bodies had now approached each other, in a night of darkness, when, the first noise being such as betokened an enemy's advance, confusion and terror seized upon them both, and indeed some very dreadful consequence might have ensued this deception, had not a scouting party of horse found out and rectified the mistake. Soon then their apprehensions vanished before their joy, the soldiers, all enraptured, addressed their companions, rehearsing their own exploits, and listening to others in their turn, while the hero of the tale still extolled his own bravery to the skies. In fact, this is ever the case in human life ; the vauntings of even the coward, when successful, are heard, while the man of courage is stigmatized by being unfortunate.

IN the camp which had been prepared for him, Metellus tarried four days, attending the wounded with care, and distributing, to such as had signalized themselves in the late encounters, the usual military rewards : then, in a publick speech to his soldiers, he praised and thanked them all, exhorting them to display equal resolution in future, less hazardous, trials, for as they had already sufficiently proved their superiority in the field, they had nothing further, (he said)

to

186 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

to disturb them, except accumulating the plunder : nevertheless he dispatched away the deserters, in the meantime, and other proper emissaries to examine where Jugurtha was, and how he employed himself, whether he was slightly attended, or at the head of an army, and finally, how he sustained his late overthrow.

THAT monarch had, however, retreated into a woody country, fortified by nature, and there he assembled more numerous forces than he had before the battle, but then they were lifeless and unnerved ; more qualified for the business of husbandmen or shepherds than fitted to the purposes of war ; and thus it came to pass that his army was so made up—upon a defeat none of the Numidians follow the footsteps of their king, save only that body of horse which is appointed for his particular guard ; as prompted by inclination, each soldier pursues his way ; nor is this accounted a transgression of military rules, such being the established national mode.

WHEN Metellus, therefore, perceived that the king's spirit was still unsubdued, that a war was to be yet maintained, which could not be brought to issue but at his own option, and that, moreover, this contest was particularly distressful to him, inasmuch as the enemy suffered less by a defeat than his forces by gaining the field, he determined to adopt a new plan of action, and to avoid,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 187

avoid, for the future, any pitched battle, or regular encounters. Pursuant to this resolution, he marches into the most fertile parts of Numidia, desolates the country, sacks, and sets fire to many castles and towns, which had been but slightly garrisoned, or were, some of them, entirely defenceless, orders all the adults to be put to the sword, and the whole plunder to be distributed amongst his troops. These measures struck a general terrour, and many hostages were delivered up to the Romans; grain, with every other necessary article, was abundantly supplied, and a guard of soldiers received wherever he thought it expedient to station them.

THE king was much more shocked by this proceeding, than he had been by his defeat, for thence it was, that he, who could only hope for security in flight, was now necessitated to become the pursuer; and, tho' he had proved unable to maintain possession of his own territories, to wage war in a country occupied by the foe: nevertheless, out of the few resources which offered, he pitched on that which appeared best suited to the emergency of his affairs; the main of his army was ordered to rest in their present quarters, while himself in person pursued Metellus, attended by a chosen body of horse, and, as his approach was concealed by nocturnal marches, through unfrequented roads, he surprised the Romans all at once, as they straggled up and down the country.

Most

188 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

Most of these were unarmed, and of course easily slain, numbers of them were taken prisoners, not a man escaped uninjured, and the Numidians, as directed, had regained the neighbouring hills, before any assistance could be furnished from the camp.

MEANTIME all was joy and transport at Rome, when it was known how Metellus prospered in his affairs; how he conducted himself, and regulated his army, entirely upon the principles of former times, how his bravery secured him conquest under every disadvantage of the ground, how he had subdued the enemy's country, and compelled Jugurtha, (whose triumphs had been swelled by the cowardice of Aulus,) to fly into the deserts, and seek his refuge there. The senate then ordained a supplication to the immortal gods on account of all these glorious events; the people, who waited the issue of the war with trembling anxiety before, now gave a loose to their rejoicings, and every voice resounded Metellus's name.

THIS applause now stimulated his natural eagerness for victory; he pushed the war with all possible vigour, guarding at the same time against any surprise from his adversary; for he remembered, that envy was the attendant of renown: thus the more conspicuous he became, the greater was his circumspection, nor did he suffer his army to plunder in loose bands, ever after Jugurtha's first

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 189

first successful ambuscade: but when there was occasion to seek for either grain or fodder, the cohorts, and all the cavalry attended as a guard to the foragers, while one half of the troops was led by Marius, and himself commanded the other: more damage was done to the country by fire than pillage; two camps were formed at no great distance from each other, but when pressed by danger both parties united; except on such an emergency they still acted separately, that by this means the flight of their foes might become more general, and the terrour of their arms spread further abroad.

JUGURTHA followed, meanwhile, over the hilly grounds, watching an opportunity, or fit place for engaging, and, still, as he learned the intended motions of the enemy, destroying the forage, and poisoning the water, of which the country afforded but slender store; now appearing before Metellus, and anon in the quarters of Marius, at one time assailing their army in the rear, and presently retreating to the neighbouring hills; then menacing our forces here, and instantly shifting his attack; neither absolutely encountering us, nor yet giving us a moments pause, and on the whole seeking only to interrupt his enemy's designs.

THE Roman general finding himself harassed by these devices, and his adversary determined against fighting on equal terms, resolved to lay
siege

190 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

siege to Zama, a mighty city, and the strongest fortress on that side of Numidia ; naturally concluding that Jugurtha would advance to relieve his suffering subjects, and that then, of course, a battle must ensue. But that monarch, having learned from deserters the nature of his preparations, arrived at Zama, by forced marches, sooner than Metellus, and animated the townsmen to defend their walls, strengthening them, moreover, by a body of deserters, who, of all his forces, were most to be depended on, as it was impossible they should betray. He assured them besides, in the most solemn manner, that he would in due time assist in person with his army.

HAVING thus ordered this business, he withdrew into the most secret recesses of his kingdom, where he soon after heard that Marius had been dispatched from the line of march to Sicca, for the purpose of foraging, with a few cohorts : this town it was, which, on the late unfortunate battle, had first revolted against its lord. Thither then he marched by night with the flower of his horse, and as the Romans were passing forth, attacked them in the entrance of the place, exhorting the inhabitants, at the same time, with a loud voice, to surround the rear of the cohorts, exclaiming that, “ the present glorious opportunity
“ was the gift of fortune, and that if they now
“ made use of it, the consequence would be, to
“ him, the uninterrupted possession of his own
“ kingdom,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 191

“kingdom, and to themselves an after life of tranquillity and freedom;” and indeed this speech had such an effect, that if Marius had not hastily advanced the standards, and cleared himself of the town, it is not to be doubted but that all, or the greatest part of, the people of Sicca, would have gone over to their former master : such is the fluctuating temper of the Numidians ! but Jugurtha’s soldiers, who, for a short time, were supported by their king, finding themselves pressed by the Romans with superiour resolution, fled the field in disorder, tho’ few only were slain, and Marius then reached Zama in safety.

THAT city was situated in the midst of a plain and more indebted to art for its fortifications than to nature ; it was deficient in nothing which defence made requisite, was very populous and full of arms. Metellus therefore, when every previous matter was adjusted agreeable to circumstances of time and place, environed the walls entirely with his army, and appointed their different stations for his lieutenants, then, upon a signal given, a loud shout was set up in every quarter of the camp, but this did not affect the Numidians with dismay ; on the contrary they awaited the onset, fierce determined and composed.

192 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE battle now began, and in it the Romans fought according to the bent of their several dispositions, some flung from afar either stones or leaden balls, some assaulted the ramparts, and were followed by others, who laboured to undermine or, anon, to scale the walls ; all were eager for a close engagement. The towns people meantime opposed their efforts by rolling huge stones down on those that were immediately under them, by launching at them sharp poles of wood, javelins, and fiery torches composed of pitch and sulphur. Nor could they who fought aloof boast much protection from their cowardice ; since most of them were wounded by darts discharged from warlike engines, or sent forward by some powerful arm ; thus the pusillanimous was equally exposed as the brave, but fame which honoured the one did not conceal the infamy of the other.

WHILE the conflict raged in this manner before Zama, Jugurtha suddenly invaded the enemy's camp with a mighty force, and as the troops left to guard it were negligent and inattentive, and without the most distant thought of an hostile attack, he quickly forced an entrance through the gates. Our people then confounded by sudden affright, provided for their respective safeties according to their several dispositions ; some fled, others defended themselves, and numbers were either wounded or slain. In a word,
out

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 193

out of all the army there were not more than forty, who, mindful of the glory of the Roman name, formed themselves into a body, and seized upon an eminence at hand, from which the most vigorous efforts of the enemy could not dislodge them. The javelins launched at them from afar they returned back upon their foes, and with greater effect too, as the crowded ranks afforded a surer aim; but if the Numidians adventured to engage in closer fight, then they exhibited the most astonishing proofs of valour, slaughtering, dispersing, and routing them with the most undaunted resolution.

IN the meantime Metellus, while in the heat of his attack, heard the tumult and uproar caused by the enemy behind, and perceived, upon reining back his horse, that a flying army approached him, by which circumstance he was assured it was his own. He dispatched, on this account, all his cavalry to the camp, and quickly after Caius Marius with the auxiliary cohorts, beseeching him, in an agony of grief and tears, by their mutual friendship, and by the majesty of Rome, to wipe away this stain from a victorious army, and not to suffer the Numidians triumph to pass unrevenge.

THESE orders were speedily executed by Marius; and Jugurtha, who was embarrassed by the fortifications of the camp (some of his men
N having

having cast themselves headlong over the ramparts, while others were blocked up in the narrow lanes by crowds of their fellows) after losing many of his soldiers was necessitated to retire to his fastnesses, and Metellus, failing also in his attempt, returned, when the day had closed, to the camp with his army.

WARNED by the events of that day, before he proceeded on the next to the assault, he ordered all his cavalry to keep guard before that quarter of the camp, which had been before invaded by the king. Then committing to the military tribunes the care of the gates and contiguous posts, he advanced in person against the city and renewed the storm.

IN the interim Jugurtha issued suddenly from his ambuscade and assailed our forces; this somewhat dismayed the avant guard, and it was thrown into disorder, but immediately supported by the rest of the troops; nor would the Numidians have long been able to sustain their fury, but that their infantry which was dispersed amongst the horse, occasioned a terrible carnage at the first onset, for relying with confidence on assistance from the foot, the cavalry did not engage, as had been the custom heretofore (now pursuing and anon giving way) but pushing their horses boldly to the encounter, they fastened on our soldiers, and confused our ranks, thus leaving

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 195

ving to their infantry, which was provided for the occasion, an enemy already almost overthrown.

THE battle was maintained, at the same time, with the utmost bravery before Zama. The fiercest efforts were made by each lieutenant, or tribune, in his own department of command. Every man built his hopes of success on his own valour, and not on foreign aid : nor were the townsmen less vigorous in their defence and preparations on every side, nay, so sanguine they were, that they aimed rather to distress their adversaries, than to guard themselves. Their mutual exhortations, the shouts of the victorious, and groans of the wounded, made part of the din of war ; while the clashing of armour resounded to the heavens, and alternate flights of javelins darkened all the air.

STILL, however, when the Romans slackened their assault but a little, the besieged turned all their attention to where the horse was engaged : then you might observe, now their transport, and anon their distress, according as appearances seemed to favour or embarrass their king ; and as if their voices could be distinguished, or their motions explained by their friends, they at one time admonished, and presently incited them ; and now raising their arms, and again twisting their bodies, they seemed to be in the act of launching

196 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

their javelins, or of shunning the darts aimed at them by the foe.

WHEN Marius, who conducted the assault in that quarter, received information of these circumstances, he purposely relaxed his endeavours, affecting diffidence and dismay ; and thus suffered the Numidians to view, without interruption, the distant war. Then, while affection for their fellows rivetted all their regards, he suddenly assailed the ramparts with the fiercest resolution. Already had his soldiers, by the help of scaling ladders, nearly attained the summit of the walls, when the townsmen caught the alarm, and running to the spot, rolled down huge rocks upon them, and hurled firebrands, with other instruments of annoyance. Our men, at first, sustained the charge without flinching, but, at length, when the scaling ladders were, one by one, destroyed, and the troops which had mounted on them, dashed to the ground, the rest retreated in the best manner they could, great part of them disabled, and scarcely any without a wound. Night then determined the combat on all sides.

METELLUS now finding that his attempt was fruitless (as the town was impregnable, and Jugurtha would not hazard an engagement, unless when he started from an ambush, or had every advantage of the ground) and perceiving that the summer was entirely spent, departed from Zama,
and

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 197

and placed garrisons in such cities as had revolted to him, and were sufficiently fortified, either by art or nature. The rest of the army he fixed in winter quarters, in that province which lies most contiguous to Numidia. Nor did he give up, like many others, that season of inaction, to luxury or repose; on the contrary, as his arms had not much furthered the progress of the war, he began to plot against the king, with the aid of his own friends, and to avail himself of their perfidy as preferable to open war.

UPON this principle he made application to Bomilcar, who had formerly attended Jugurtha to Rome, and who, dreading conviction for the murder of Massiva, had absconded thence, tho' he had given sureties to abide his trial; and as from the intimacy of confidence in which he was held, he had the greater opportunity of betraying his master, he assailed him with a profusion of promises: first then, he prevailed on him for a private interview, to hear the nature of the business explained; in this, upon solemnly pledging his faith that if he yielded up Jugurtha, alive or dead, the senate should grant him an absolute pardon, and secure him all his possessions, he quickly gained the Numidian, naturally treacherous, but now terrified by the thought that, if peace was made with the Romans, one of the conditions of it would be the surrendering himself to punishment.

198 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THUS tutored, as soon as occasion presented itself, he approached Jugurtha while oppressed with anguish, and bewailing his hard fortune, and all bathed in tears, admonished and implored him, “ now at last to consult the interest of his
 “ own offspring, and of the Numidian people,
 “ whose services called loudly for his gratitude ;
 “ in every battle they had been overthrown ;
 “ their country was desolated, and numbers of
 “ its inhabitants led into captivity, or slaughtered
 “ in the field ; his kingdom’s treasures were ex-
 “ hausted ; the valour of his troops, and fortune
 “ of war, sufficiently tried ; and it was incum-
 “ bent on him to guard against all unnecessary
 “ delay, lest the Numidians should be tempted
 “ to provide for themselves.”

By these, and such like, arguments, the king’s mind was reconciled to submission. Ambassadors were dispatched to the general, empowered to declare, that Jugurtha was ready to pay obedience to all his commands, and to surrender, without any stipulation, himself and his kingdom to his mercy. Metellus, immediately on receiving this embassy, ordered every officer, of the senatorial rank, out of the winter quarters, and of these, with others whom he deemed fitting, he formed a council of war. Then a decree of this assembly being made, agreeable to ancient usage, he commanded Jugurtha, by the ambassadors, to pay two hundred thousand pounds of silver,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 199

silver, to deliver up all his elephants, with part of his horses and arms. When these injunctions were instantly complied with, he next ordered, that all the deserters should be brought in chains to the camp, and of these a great number was so brought, the rest, being but a few, had fled away, on the first rumour of a surrender, to King Bocchus in Mauritania.

JUGURTHA was now deprived of money, men, and arms, yet, when he was summoned to attend, in person, on the general at Tifidium, he was visited by another fit of fickleness, and became fearful of that punishment which his wounded conscience told him was his due. At length, after many days irresolution, (sometimes thinking, while impressed with the bitterness of his past misfortunes, that any choice was preferable to a continuance of the war, and anon reflecting within himself, how miserable must be the falling off from empire to servitude) he recommenced hostilities under all the disadvantages of having forfeited so many and such powerful supports in vain. Previous to this, the Roman senate, when consulted about the distribution of the provinces, had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

ABOUT this period, as it happened, that Caius Marius was sacrificing to the gods in Utica, the soothsayer had declared, that the omens betokened his future grandeur and exaltation; that
therefore,

200 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

therefore, whatever purposes were harboured in his breast, he should carry into execution under the auspices of heaven ; that he might trust to fortune as often as he pleased, for that all his undertakings would be crowned with success.— Now Marius had been before inflamed with an eager desire to fill the consulate, and to this, indeed, he had every title, except nobility of blood alone : industrious, upright, and profoundly skilled in war, he had a soul the most aspiring in the field, the most reserved in peace, the conquerour of his passions, the contemner of wealth, and greedy of nothing but extravagant renown.

THE village of Arpinum gave him birth, and there he was nurtured throughout his boyish days ; but when he became hardy enough to sustain the fatigues of war, all his time was devoted to that service, and not to the study of the Grecian eloquence, or the delicacies and refinements of Rome : thus his naturally sound genius, being wholly turned to praiseworthy pursuits, in a short time arrived at full maturity. Wherefore, when he first solicited the people for the office of military tribune, tho' scarcely any knew his face, yet his fame had spread through all the tribes, and he was unanimously appointed. By his conduct he raised himself afterwards to other posts of dignity, and such was ever his deportment, while invested with authority, as to mark him

him qualified to grace a still more important station.

YET approved as this man was in worth until this period, (for, in succeeding time, ambition hurried him to the most desperate extremities) he had not presumed to stand for consul. For altho' the people, even then, bestowed all other offices of magistracy, yet the consulate was wholly in the nobility's gift, and by them handed over to one another. There was no man of mean descent, however distinguished or celebrated for his exploits, who was not deemed unworthy of that high honour, nay who was not thought somehow infectious on that account.

BUT now when Marius found that the diviner's declarations corresponded entirely with the bent of his own mind, he required from Metellus his dismissal from the service, that he might sue for the office of consul at Rome: the general had virtue, was followed by renown, and abounded in every qualification which the good might wish to own; still however, his soul was contemptuous and overbearing, and this was the common failing of the nobles! affected, at first, by the novelty of this address, the design raised his astonishment, and he counselled him, as a friend, not to embark in such an idle project, nor to encourage an elevation of hope so ill suited to his fortune; he told him that the wishes and desires of all men should

should be regulated by circumstances : that his present situation ought to afford him ample content, and that, finally, he should guard against soliciting an honour which the Roman people might very reasonably refuse.

THESE and such like observations effecting no change in Marius's resolves, Metellus then promised to comply with his request, as soon as the nature of the publick business would permit ; and upon his more frequent after importunity, it is said, he advised him, not to be in such a violent hurry to depart, for that his suit would be then seasonable, when his own son should be of an age to seek it with him. Now this was a youth about twenty years old who was at that time serving in Numidia under his father's command, and this sneer inflamed equally Marius's desire to obtain the consulate, and his hatred to Metellus.

HENCEFORTH then his conduct became entirely influenced by those worst of counsellors, ambition and revenge ; nor did he hesitate at either act or speech which served to flatter his aspiring views. The soldiers under his immediate command, in the winter quarters, were less rigidly confined to their duty than before ; when in discourse about the war with the traders, who were in great numbers at Utica, his custom was to speak thus reproachfully of Metellus, and greatly of himself :—" had he but half the army
" entrusted

“entrusted to him, he would have Jugurtha in
 “chains within a few days ; the general’s extrava-
 “gant passion for command was the means of
 “protracting the war ; for he was puffed up by
 “vanity, and loaded with pride, not inferiour to
 “that of royalty itself.—” Now all these sug-
 gestions had the greater weight with his hearers,
 inasmuch as they had suffered in their circum-
 stances by the tediousness of the war, and the
 eagerness of man’s wishes is not to be matched
 by the swiftest expedition.

THERE was, moreover, in our army, a Numi-
 dian, named Gauda, the son of Manastabal, and
 grandson to Masinissa, whom Micipsa had, by
 will, appointed, in the remainder, to his king-
 dom. This man’s body being preyed upon by
 distempers, his understanding was therefore some-
 what impaired. He had required the privilege
 of seating himself next to Metellus, as if really
 a monarch, and again had solicited for a guard of
 Roman horse, but was refused both requests ;—
 the honour of sitting by the consul, because it
 belonged only to those who were entitled kings
 by the people of Rome ; the guard, on account
 of the indignity which would follow any such
 establishment for a Numidian.

HIM Marius accosted, while yet chagrined by
 disappointment, and encouraged him to revenge
 himself for this contumely upon the general, en-
 gaging, at the same time, to lend his aid on the
 occasion ;

204 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

occasion, then extolling, in a flattering speech, this poor creature, whose judgment was weakened by the attacks of disease, he called him, a king—an hero—the grandson of Masinissa; telling him, moreover, that if Jugurtha was once taken or slain, the empire of Numidia would then instantly become his own, and that this event would speedily take place, were he himself appointed consul, and sent to conduct the war.

THUS he, the Roman knights, the soldiers, and the merchants, were all influenced (some by Marius's insinuations, others by the prospect of peace) to write to their friends at Rome, in the bitterest stile, against Metellus's management, at the same time, that they required to have Marius nominated their general. By this means many people became interested in his suit for the consulate, and their unanimous suffrages reflected on him all honour. At this time too, the commonalty, having obtained the superiority over the nobles by the Mamilian law, began to raise men of low origin to this dignity; so that every circumstance furthered Marius's success.

MEANWHILE Jugurtha, having dropt all thoughts of surrendering, and determined on renewing the war, prepared all necessary matters with extraordinary diligence, used the greatest expedition, and collected a powerful force; the revolted cities he attempted to reclaim, now by threats

threats of vengeance, or, anon, by promise of rewards; his own towns were well secured; the armour, weapons, and other things, which had been yielded up while the peace was in agitation, were now replaced by others, either manufactured at home, or purchased for the occasion; the Roman slaves were tempted from their duty; nay, the power of money was tried upon the Romans themselves who were left to garrison the different towns; in short, no expedient was left unpractised, no respite given to the foe, while every quarter was alarmed by his indefatigable efforts.

Thus the inhabitants of Vacca, wherein Metellus, upon the first offer of pacification, had placed a garrison, were wrought upon by the importunity of their king; and the principal men of the city, (not before estranged from him through inclination) formed a conspiracy amongst themselves; for the common people (as is usually the case, but especially in Numidia) were of a fluctuating, turbulent, factious disposition, fond of change, and enemies to tranquillity or repose. At length, having adjusted all previous matters in private, the execution of their project was fixed for the third following day; for as that was to be a festival, highly honoured throughout all Africk, its appearances would rather betoken gaiety and pleasure than horror and dismay.

WHEN

206 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

WHEN it arrived, the citizens invited, to their different houses, the centurions, military tribunes, and even Lucius Turpilius Silanus, the governor of the town, all of whom, save only Turpilius, they murdered at the banquet; this accomplished, they next assailed the Roman soldiers straggling through the streets without their arms, for, as it was a season of festivity, no discipline was observed. Their example was followed by the common people, some of whom were instructed in this business by the nobility, while others took a part in it as correspondent to their inclinations; these, tho' strangers to the nature of the transactions or design, were abundantly gratified by the seditions rising, and the change it promised in the state of affairs.

SUDDEN horror now seized the Roman soldiers, who, irresolute and unknowing what choice to adopt, ran all in confusion towards the citadel, in which were deposited their standards and shields: the city gates having been closed before the tumult began, and being now guarded by an armed force, all means of escape were thus forbid, and, to add to their calamity, the women and children contended who should annoy them most from the house-tops, by casting down stones, with every thing else which the place furnished to their hands. Thus it was impossible to guard against dangers to which they were exposed on every side, nor could the bravest of them resist,
with

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 207

with effect, the feeblest of their enemies ; while the valiant and pusillanimous, the vigorous and infirm, were slaughtered without distinction, and perished unrevenged.

IN this dreadful hour of misery and wo, (the Numidians raging for blood, and the Romans hemmed within the town) Turpilius, the governor, was the only Italian who escaped, uninjured, from the scene of blood ! whether the compassion of his host, an underhand agreement, or simple chance enabled him to effect this is not determined ; one thing, however, must be allowed, that infamy and detestation should follow his name, since, at the time of such bitter misfortune, he could prefer a life of ignominy to the preservation of his fame !

WHEN the transactions at Vacca were reported to Metellus, he retired, for a short space, from the view of all, overwhelmed with grief : but presently, when resentment began to balance his trouble, such measures were taken as promised the speediest revenge. About sunset he drew out the legion which wintered with him in the same quarters, and as many Numidian horsemen as he could conveniently assemble, all lightly armed ; with these he marched that whole night, and on the third hour of the following day, arrived in a sort of plain, begirt with rising grounds. Here he instructed the soldiers (who were harassed by

by their fatiguing march, and refractory against all command) that the city of Vacca was distant only a mile, and that it belonged to their characters to sustain the succeeding hardships of the enterprise with cheerfulness, since it led to the punishment of those infamous miscreants, who had treacherously murdered their brave, but most unhappy fellow-citizens. Then the pillage was proposed as an object to tempt them, and having thus raised their spirits to a degree of elevation, he ordered the cavalry to form the van, and the foot, without displaying their ensigns, to march behind them in the closest array.

WHEN the people of Vacca first perceived an army moving towards them, they rightly conjectured it to be that of Metellus, and secured their gates: but anon, upon finding that the country was not wasted, and that the front line was composed of Numidian horsemen, they concluded it to be Jugurtha, and went forward to meet him in a transport of joy. A signal was then suddenly given, and both horse and foot rushed to the encounter; some falling upon the multitude pouring out of the city, some hastening forward to secure the gates, and others to possess themselves of the bulwarks of the place. Resentment, and the eagerness for plunder, banished all thoughts of fatigue, while the great and opulent city of Vacca (whose inhabitants had triumphed in their treachery but two days) was wholly pillaged

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 209

laged at the will of the soldiers, or desolated by revenge.

TURPILIUS the governor, who had, as was already shewn, escaped singly with his life, was now summoned before Metellus to vindicate his conduct, and, being unable to clear himself, condemned to die ; which sentence was inflicted on him, after he had been scourged with rods ; for he was only a citizen of Latium.

ABOUT this time Bomilcar (by whose instigations Jugurtha had been formerly prevailed on to propose a surrender, tho' fear had caused him afterwards to break off the treaty) becoming suspected of the king, and distrustful in his turn, began to meditate a revolution, to plot his master's destruction by treacherous devices, and to employ his thoughts, on such measures, both day and night : at length, in the variety of his expedients, he associated with himself Nabdalsa, a man of noble birth, celebrated for his opulence, and remarkable for his popularity ; he was usually at the head of a body of troops distinct from that which was commanded by the king ; and it was his department of business to carry such affairs into execution, as, from fatigue or more important avocations, Jugurtha could not attend : thus his renown and riches grew apace.

210 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

A DAY was then, by their joint concurrence, appointed for the completion of this design ; all other necessary matters were to be adjusted as occasion offered from time to time, and Nabdalsa proceeded to join his army which he had been directed to station nigh to the winter quarters of the Romans, that by this means their ravages might not pass unrevenge.

STARTLED, however, by the blackness of the treason, he was not punctual to his agreement, and his timidity retarded the execution of the scheme ; on which account Bomlicar (who was both eager for its accomplishment and alarmed at his confederate's fears, as thinking that his former purpose must be superseded by some new plan) dispatched a letter to him by emissaries on whom he could depend ; in this he accused him of effeminacy and sloth ; called the gods, by whom he had sworn, to witness their resolves ; admonished him not to convert Metellus's munificence into his own destruction ; told him Jugurtha's ruin was at hand, and that the question simply was, whether it should be precipitated by his interference, or the consul's own efforts ; and finally besought him to weigh deliberately in his mind, which alternative would be most acceptable to him——torture or reward.

Now it happened that when this letter was delivered, Nabdalsa, wearied with exercise, was
reposing

reposing on his bed ; where, as is usual in the mind's disease, sleep, at length, relieved him from that anxiety which Bomilcar's writing had first raised in his breast. There was a certain Numidian about his person in the nature of secretary, whose attachment had been approved, and who had ever been the depositary of his purposes, save only this last : he, when he heard that a letter was brought, imagining, as was customary, that his talents and assistance might be requisite on the occasion, entered the chamber in which, finding Nabdalsa asleep, and the letter cast negligently on the pillow above his head, he seized and carefully read it, and, having in this manner learned the intended treachery, set out with expedition to inform the king.

NABDALSA waked soon after, and, not only missing the letter, but understanding also, by some deserters, what had been done, attempted to intercept the informer ; but failing in this design he waited on Jugurtha in hopes of making his peace ; protesting to him that the very discovery he had in view had been anticipated by the perfidy of his own servant, and conjuring him, all in tears, by their past friendship, and by the many proofs of his fidelity heretofore received, not to account him capable of so black a crime ! to this the king replied in a strain of mildness ill-suited to his thoughts : after the execution of Bomilcar, and many others whom he had found

212 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

engaged in this conspiracy, he had smothered his indignation ; lest excess of resentment should be followed by insurrection.

NOR did Jugurtha enjoy, from this time forth, any sort of rest either by day or night ; no place was thought secure by him ; no mortal worthy of his confidence ; no season to promise him repose : enemies and subjects were equally the causes of his affright ; every place was examined with a suspicious eye, and the smallest noise threw him into an agony of terror ; at night he frequently took up his abode in places unworthy of the dignity he bore ; often aroused from slumber by some terrifying dream he would snatch up his arms, and raise a dreadful uproar, and in short his fears acted on him with all the violence of madness.

Now Metellus, as soon as he was informed by deserters of Bomilcar's misfortune, and the discovery which had been made, began to prepare and hasten all matters as if just at the commencement of a war. Meantime Marius who still pestered him for permission to depart, and who, equally hated by and incensed against him, was deemed but little fitted to his purposes, received his dismissal from the service : now too, the Roman people coming to understand the purport of those letters which conveyed the accounts of Metellus and Marius, paid the readiest attention

attention to the tales related of them both: The general's high birth, which before reflected honour on him, was now become a subject of obloquy and reproach, while Marius's mean origin reconciled to him the multitude's affection; however, the opinion of both was rather influenced by party zeal and animosity, than founded upon the good or bad qualities of either.

MOREOVER, the people were inflamed by the turbulency of their magistrates, who were accustomed to accuse Metellus, in publick, of capital crimes, and to cry up the excellencies of his competitor to the skies; so that, at length, such a fire was kindled in every bosom, that even the artificers and husbandmen, whose substance and credit depended on the labour of their hands, forsaking their employments, all flocked to Marius, despising the means of their own existence where his honour was concerned.

THUS, as the nobles were overwhelmed with consternation, this man of obscure origin was chosen to fill the consulate; after which, when the people were asked by Manlius Mantinus their tribune, what general they would appoint to command against Jugurtha? the universal voice was raised for Marius. Now the senate had, some short time before, decreed Numidia to Metellus, but their resolution was, in this manner, rendered abortive.

214 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

ABOUT this period Jugurtha was lost in irresolution, and wholly deprived of his firmness of mind; for none of his old adherents were remaining (most of them having been slain by his own order, while the residue, apprehensive of the same fate, had fled either to the Romans, or to king Bocchus) and neither could the war be conducted without proper officers, nor could he deem it a safe expedient to trust to new commanders, at a time that the old had manifested such general disaffection. No circumstance, no plan, no person could please him; his route and his commanders were changed from day to day; one while he advanced against the enemy, and presently retreated to the desarts; often he trusted in flight for his security, and anon, he would place his confidence in arms; doubtful, upon the whole, which was best to be depended on, the valour or fidelity of his subjects; thus whatever purpose he pursued was still crossed by disappointment.

BUT while he was in this suspense, Metellus shewed himself, unexpectedly, at the head of his army: the Numidians were then formed in readiness by Jugurtha, as well as the suddenness of the occasion would allow, and shortly after the battle began. Where the king commanded in person the contest was, for some little time, maintained; but in every other quarter his forces were beaten off and routed at the first onset: the Romans made prize of some standards and arms,
and

and took a few prisoners; for in every engagement the Numidians were more indebted to their swiftness for their safety than to the bravery of their defence.

THIS discomfiture reducing Jugurtha to the last despair, he fled with the deserters and part of his cavalry into the deserts, and thence proceeded on to Thala. This city was celebrated for its strength and riches, was the repository of great part of his treasures, and the place where his children were educated, as befitted their high rank. Which circumstances (when they became known to him) determined Metellus (notwithstanding he knew that between Thala and the nearest river, there lay a sandy desert of fifty miles extent) to attempt conquering all the difficulties of the enterprise, nay, to subdue nature itself, for it was his hope, that, upon gaining this city, the war must consequently cease.

PURSUANT to these resolves he ordered that all the beasts of burden should be lightened of their usual loads, save only as much corn as would serve for ten days, and that these should be replaced by leathern bottles, and other vessels proper for carrying water alone: he collected, besides, from the adjacent country, all the cattle which had been tamed for the purposes of husbandry, and on these he likewise fixed all sorts of vessels, but especially wooden, which the Numidian

216 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

dian cottages afforded. Moreover all the neighbouring inhabitants, which had surrendered to him upon the king's overthrow, were severally enjoined to provide as much water, as each man could carry, and a day and place was appointed for their attendance with it. He then loaded the beasts of burden with a quantity from that river, which, I have already said, was nearest to the city; and, thus prepared, began his march towards Thala.

WHEN, in his progress, he had arrived where the Numidians were directed to meet him, and after he had pitched and fortified his camp there, such an impetuous gush of rain is reported to have fallen suddenly from the heavens, as was more than sufficient to supply the wants of his whole army. Furthermore, provision was brought him in greater abundance than he had expected, for the Numidians, as is customary with most people upon their first submission, had, of their own accord, even exceeded his commands. The soldiers however, from a superstitious motive, rather affected the water from heaven; the circumstance of this shower inspired them with extraordinary resolution, as they now assured themselves of the immortal deities protection, and on the following day they reached Thala, to the utter astonishment of Jugurtha.

THE

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 217

THE townsmen, who placed their security in the dreadful intervening wilderness, were thunder-struck by this bold unprecedented effort; yet it did not discourage them from preparing vigorously for their defence, nor were our people backward on the occasion. But the king, who now imagined that nothing was impossible with Metellus (whose indefatigable diligence had thus surmounted all obstacles, making its way through an embattled host, through an hideous solitude, under every rigour of the season, and in despite of nature; even of nature, that controller of every other human agent!) fled forth from the city by night, with his children, and much treasure; nor did he ever afterwards abide in the same place more than one day, or one night; still pretending that business caused him to shift his quarters. But the reality of the matter was, he apprehended some treacherous design, the operation of which he thought to guard against by the celerity of his motions, as knowing full well that such machinations were chiefly countenanced by leisure and opportunity.

MEANWHILE Metellus, finding the inhabitants resolute to defend their city, and perceiving that the place was equally strong by art and nature, surrounded the walls entirely with a rampart and deep trench. Then next he ordered that the approaches should be made by means of covered machines, moved forward from the most convenient

218 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

ent situations, that moles should be raised upon these machines, and over them towers of defence for the security of the works and people employed. Meanwhile the townsmen were eager and diligent in counteracting his designs, nor was ought omitted by either party which might promote its respective advantage. At length the Romans, after a desperate struggle, and a succession of fierce encounters, got possession of the bare walls alone, in forty days from their sitting down before the place; for whatever effects were in it had been destroyed by the deserters. These, when they found that the walls were shaken by the battering rams, and that ruin threatened them on every side, conveyed their gold, silver, and other most valuable commodities into the royal palace: there they involved, after a surfeit of wine and banquetting, all those, the palace, and themselves, in one general conflagration; thus subjecting themselves, spontaneously, to that punishment, which they dreaded the infliction of from a conquering foe.

AMBASSADOURS from the city of Leptis now waited on Metellus, just at the period when Thala was taken, entreating him to send them a garrison and governour. They informed him that one of their citizens named Hamilcar (a man of quality, and mover of sedition) was meditating a revolution, that neither the power of the magistrates, nor the authority of the laws were sufficient to re-
strain

strain his evil designs; and that unless he instantly complied with this request, they must be exposed to every danger, tho' in amity with Rome. For the people of Leptis had, even so early as the commencement of the Jugurthine war, sent an embassy to the consul Bestia, and another afterwards to Rome, for the purpose of soliciting our friendship and alliance; which being obtained, of course, they continued, from that time, to render us service, and to approve their faith; still paying the readiest observance to all the commands of Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Thus entitled to protection, their wishes were speedily gratified, and four Ligurian cohorts were sent them, together with Quintus Annius, as governour.

LEPTIS was built by a colony of Sidonians, who having (as we are told) forsaken their native country, on account of civil feuds, were transported in their ships into these parts; and its situation is between the two Syrtes, places so named from their peculiar nature. They are two bays at, almost, the extremity of Africk, different in size, but similar in other respects: near the shore they have both an amazing depth of water, but further out, are deep, or shoaly, as accidental tempests rule. For when the winds begin to swell and enrage the sea, the inflated billows drag along with them mud, sand, and mighty stones, and thus the appearances below
still

220 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

still vary with the storm. From this quality too they have the name of Syrtes*.

THE inhabitants of Leptis have lost only their native language by intermarrying with the Numidians; their laws and attire are still nearly such as the people of Sidon use: these they were enabled the more easily to preserve, seeing that they passed their lives far removed from the monarch's immediate sway. Besides, many desert regions lay between them and the more inhabited parts of Numidia.

BUT since the Leptinians business has caused us to touch upon this country, it does not appear to be now irregular to relate the singular and astonishing heroism of two Carthaginian youths; this place recalls those circumstances to my memory.

WHAT time the Carthaginian empire extended over almost all Africa, the people of Cyrene were also famed for power and opulence. Between their territories lay a sandy desert no way diversified, without river or mountain to determine the boundaries of each; and this circumstance was productive of a long and grievous war. Alternately defeated both by sea and land, they had somewhat impaired their mutual strength, when, fearful lest the vanquished and the victors, exhausted equally by their contest, should be-

* Απο τῆ σπέρῃ, to draw.

come the prey of some other watchful foe, they proclaimed a truce, and entered into this covenant; commissioners were to set out from their respective cities on the same appointed day, and the spot on which they should meet was to be, thenceforward, the common boundary of either kingdom.

THE Philæni, two brothers, were, pursuant to this agreement, deputed from Carthage, and these hastened on their way with swift dispatch; the Cyrenians were slower in their progress.—I have not learned, with certainty, whether it was indolence, or accidental interruption which occasioned this delay; but it is a fact that, in these parched and desert regions, travellers are equally affected by a tempest, as navigators by a storm at sea: for when the winds, sweeping along those extended plains in which the vegetable creation is unknown, have once stirred up the sand from the surface of the ground, it is then whirled on with prodigious violence, filling the travellers mouths and eyes, and, being thus unable to see their road, their journey is of necessity delayed.

Now when the Cyrenians perceived that they were outstript in speed, and feared, of course, that vengeance would be inflicted on them at home, for the injury they had thus brought upon their country, they began to charge the Carthaginians with breach of their agreement, as having
left

left their city before the stated time; to debate and wrangle upon this circumstance, and finally to show a disposition to embrace any alternative, rather than return home under such disadvantage.

THE Carthaginians then required them only to propose any other equitable mode of accommodating the dispute, and upon this the Greeks submitted it to their choice, either to be buried alive in that spot, on which they fought to establish their kingdom's limits, or to suffer them to proceed as far onward as they thought fitting, on equal terms. The Philæni approved the condition, and instantly devoted themselves and their existence to their country's cause, accordingly there they were buried alive. The Carthaginians consecrated altars to the Philæni upon this spot, while other honours were instituted at home to perpetuate their memory; and now I again return to my subject.

JUGURTHA, having lost Thala, and being firmly persuaded that he was in no respect secure against the enterprising spirit of Metellus, passed forward, through frightful desarts, into the country of the Gætulians; this was a fierce uncivilized race of men, and, at this period, unacquainted with the Roman name. Of these he gathers together a vast multitude, accustoms them by degrees to maintain their ranks, to move after their ensigns,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 223

signs, to be observant of order, and, in fine, to practise every military manœuvre. By the influence of munificent presents, and more munificent promises, he gained over, besides, to his interest, some of king Bocchus's most intimate confidants; supported by whom he assailed that monarch, and prevailed with him to wage war against the Romans.

His wishes, in this respect, were gratified with the greater facility and dispatch, inasmuch as Bocchus had sent, at the commencement of this war, ambassadours to Rome, to sue for friendship and alliance. However, at that time, a faction had defeated this most advantageous measure; a faction which avarice had blinded, and whose every determination, whether honourable or infamous, was purchased with gold.

INDEED the daughter of Bocchus had previously been given in marriage to Jugurtha; but that tie is very lightly thought of by either Numidians or Moors. For as is each man's ability to maintain them, so is his stock of wives; some have ten, some more, but the monarch most of all. Thus his mind is distracted with such variety, and the bliss of an endearing companion is unknown.—He feels the like indifference and apathy for them all.

BOTH

224 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

BOTH armies were then assembled in a place mutually agreed upon, in which after each had plighted his faith to the other, Jugurtha laboured to inflame the spirit of Bocchus by a set oration : in this he described the Romans as "unjust, insatiably avaricious, and the common foes of mankind ; said, they had the same cause of quarrel with Bocchus as with himself and other nations, namely a passion for universal empire, and that they could not brook a self-supported kingdom ; that he himself was then an instance of the truth of this observation, as the Carthaginians, and king Perseus had been some time before ; and that the most opulent nations, in succession, would still be marked their foes."

AFTER this, and such like speeches, they bent their march towards Cirta, because in that city Metellus had secured his plunder, his prisoners, and his baggage. For Jugurtha hoped either to recompense his trouble by making prize of the town, or by fighting the Roman general, if he advanced to relieve his friends. This haste was all the effect of his subtilty, for thus he meant to banish Bocchus's notions of peace, fearful least if he delayed his measures, any other choice might become more acceptable to his ally than war.

METELLUS having received information of this league between the kings, did not now offer

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 225

fer battle rashly, or under every disadvantage of situation, as had been his practice when he had only to deal with the still vanquished Jugurtha; but awaited the arrival of the two monarchs, in a well fortified camp near Cirta, judging it most prudent, since he heard of the Moors, and knew he had this fresh enemy to encounter, not to engage unless under the most favourable circumstances.

MEANTIME accounts were brought him from Rome, that Numidia was allotted to Marius as his province; for he was already acquainted with his election to the consulate. Affected by this information beyond either decency or discretion, he could neither restrain his tears, nor regulate his tongue: for eminent as he was for other qualifications, he wanted firmness of mind under the pressure of trouble. Some imagined this proceeded from wounded pride, others, that his noble spirit was enchafed by the indignity offered, while many thought he was enraged to see the conquest, so nearly completed, thus torn from his grasp. For my part, I am clear that Marius's exaltation was more torturing to his bosom than the particular injury he sustained, and that if the province, so taken from him, had been given to any other, he would not have experienced such anguish of heart.

226 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

RESTRAINED from action then by this affliction, and holding it for folly to embark himself in perils of which another was to reap the fruits, he dispatched ambassadours to king Bocchus, to admonish him “ not to enter into an unprovoked war with the people of Rome, to inform him, that he had now a noble opportunity of proving their friendship and alliance, which were far preferable to war ; that even if he was confident of his powers, he should still be cautious, how he exchanged certainty for hope ; that it was an easy matter to commence hostilities, but most difficult to cause them cease ; for their beginning and their end were not at the same party’s option ; any one, even a coward, might strike the first blow, but the conquerors alone could determine the war ; furthermore, that it was incumbent on him to consult his own, and his kingdom’s interest, and not to confound his own flourishing affairs with Jugurtha’s lost condition.”

THE king’s reply to this embassy was abundantly mild and gentle, he declared his wishes were all for peace, but that he compassionated Jugurtha’s misfortunes, and that if he was included in the treaty, every matter should be reconciled. These requisitions were answered in another embassy from the general. This was partly approved of, while part of it was denied ; and in this manner, by a frequency of messages to and fro,

fro, time ran on ; and the war was spun out, in inaction, as Metellus desired.

BUT when Marius (who had been as I have before related, elected consul by the eagereft concurrence of the tribes) was appointed to Numidia by a popular ordinance, he, whose bosom already swelled with hatred to the nobles, now especially vented his rage in unceasing and most bitter invectives ; one while he would point his fury at particular objects, and anon attack the whole body of nobility ; still proclaiming himself their conqueror, and that the consulate was his spoil ; and adding, moreover, every expression which could heighten his own triumph or increase their mortification.

MEANTIME his first care was to make due provision for the war ; he demanded a reinforcement for the legions, solicited assistance from distant nations, from kings, and confederate states ; called forth, besides, from Latium, the most valiant of its inhabitants, many of whom he had proved in war, for few were chosen by report ; nay, by the prevalence of his persuasions, he even engaged the soldiers, who had already earned their dismissal, to go out under his command. Nor durst the senate (tho' fraught with hatred to him) put a negative on any of his measures ; on the contrary, the additional troops were voted with much satisfaction, for as

228 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

the people were supposed to be averse to the service, it was thence hoped that Marius would either be deprived of the means of carrying on the war, or lose the affection of the populace, by compelling their attendance.

THIS expectation, however, proved idle, so ardently did most men wish to accompany Marius; all were prepossessed with a belief that they should be enriched by the spoil, all that they should return triumphant to their native homes. Such conceits as these filled their imaginations, and a speech, delivered by Marius, had swelled them with confidence; for when he proceeded to enlist his recruits (after decrees had been passed agreeable to his wishes) he called an assembly of the people, both with a purpose to encourage them, and also (as was his custom) to taunt the nobility; and in this he discoursed in the following strain.

“ I AM sensible, my fellow citizens, that most
 “ of those who sue to you for dignities, do not
 “ conduct themselves, after their appointment,
 “ upon the same principles they previously pro-
 “ fessed; then they are industrious, humble, and
 “ temperate, but these good qualities give place
 “ in time, to a life of arrogance and sloth. Such,
 “ however, are not my sentiments on the occasi-
 “ on; for by how much the whole republick is
 “ more valuable than the consulate or prætor-
 “ ship,

“ ship, by so much the administration of it should
 “ be more attended to, than the soliciting of its
 “ honours. Neither am I ignorant of the weight
 “ and importance of the business, with which I
 “ am intrusted by your singular affection. Ne-
 “ cessary provision must be made for the war,
 “ while the treasury must be spared ; soldiers
 “ are to be forced to the field, whom it pains you
 “ to offend ; all matters at home or abroad re-
 “ quire your most vigilant attention ; and to ful-
 “ fil these duties of your function, while malice,
 “ opposition, and faction, are at work against
 “ you, is a task (believe me my fellow-citizens)
 “ loaded with such difficulties as bare speculation
 “ cannot reach.

“ AGAIN, if other magistrates transgress in of-
 “ fice, their old nobility, their ancestors illustri-
 “ ous actions, the wealth of their relations by
 “ affinity or blood, their numberless vassals,
 “ serve all to screen and protect them ; but my
 “ whole dependencies centre in myself, which I
 “ must strengthen, of necessity, by a course of
 “ virtue, and by integrity of life ;—feeble in-
 “ deed and ineffectual is every other support. I
 “ know, besides, my fellow citizens, that all eyes
 “ attend my motions ; that the upright and good
 “ are interested for me, as an useful member of the
 “ state, while the nobles are anxious to work my
 “ overthrow : wherefore it behoves me doubly to
 “ exert myself, that I may thus prove the opini-
 “ on

230 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ on of my friends well founded, and be able to
“ defeat the machinations of my foes.

“ SUCH has been the manner of my life, even
“ from my boyish days until now, that fatigues
“ and perils are familiar to my frame, and
“ that conduct which I observed from inclination while unhonoured by your favour, it is
“ not now my purpose to desert when your rewards have made it duty. It is difficult for
“ those to act with propriety in office, who only
“ wore the mask of probity while pursuing their
“ ambitious views ; but with me, whose whole life
“ has been devoted to the most valuable improvements, an habitual course of virtue is now become a second nature.

“ To me you have committed the management of the Jugurthine war, and the nobility
“ are anguished beyond bearing by your choice ;
“ let me beseech you then to take into due consideration whether it would advantage you to
“ reverse this ordinance in my favour, by giving
“ a commission to any of that quality group, of
“ this, or other such like import ? to a man of
“ ancient lineage, who can show numberless statues of his progenitors, but wholly a stranger
“ to the mystery of war ? what ? to have him, in
“ such a momentous concern, betray his entire
“ ignorance of the business, and precipitate, and
“ confused, choose out from the Plebeians, some
“ monitor

“ monitor to instruct him in the nature of his duty!—yet such has been not unfrequently the case; the person whom you have appointed to command, has been necessitated to act in subordination to another.

“ For my own part, my fellow-citizens, I really know some men, who began after their election to the consulate, to study their ancestors warlike achievements, and the military precepts of the Greeks.—Strange inconsistent beings! For tho’ you can’t act in any department of government until after your appointment to it, yet still you should (regularly and properly) be previously qualified to fill it. Now weigh me, my fellow-citizens, whom they affect to call an upstart, in the balance with these most arrogant men.—Such great exploits as they, usually, learn from reading or report, I have been present at the performance of, or in person executed:—what theory has taught them practice has made mine. Think then, should a book-learned general be your choice, or one who has been formed by service in the field?

“ THEY despise my obscure origin, and I, their sloth; my humble fortune is made a charge against me, whilst I retort upon them their manifold crimes; now tho’ I imagine we all enjoy one common uniform nature, yet still
“ I must

" I must account the bravest the most noble ;
 " and pray, how think you the fathers of Albi-
 " nus or Bestia would reply, were it possible to
 " demand of them whether they would wish to
 " have them or me for their sons ? how, but that
 " the bravest should be the children of their electi-
 " on ? but if this contempt is justly bestowed on
 " me, why let their own ancestors partake it also,
 " for their nobility (as is mine) was founded in
 " virtue.

" THEY envy my exaltation, then let them
 " also envy my laborious services, my integrity,
 " and the dangers I have incurred, since by these
 " it was that I attained this honour. But these
 " men, whom pride has corrupted, so pass their
 " lives, as if they scorned the dignities in your
 " gift, yet sue for them with equal confidence,
 " as if recommended by virtue ! how erroneous
 " then must their doctrine be who expect to ac-
 " complish the most heterogeneous ends by the
 " same means ?—who expect both voluptuous en-
 " joyments, and the rewards of virtue, from a
 " slothful life ?

" STILL, however, in their orations, or to you
 " or in the senate, they are abundantly diffu-
 " sive in their progenitor's praise ; as thinking that
 " the relation of their illustrious actions reflects
 " additional honour on themselves ; but here they
 " err again, for the more renowned their ancestors
 " have

“ have been, the more infamous is their own degeneracy; and indeed the truth of the matter is thus,—the forefather’s glory follows his descendants like a blazing luminary, and suffers not their good or evil deeds to rest unrevealed. In this respect, my fellow citizens, I confess myself outdone, but I can rehearse my own great actions, which is more infinitely to my honour.

“ JUDGE now between us how unjust they are; that consequence which they vainly claim from the excellencies of others, they refuse to allow me for my own; and all because I can boast no family statues,—because my nobility is but newly acquired;—as if it were not more laudable to be the founder of my own, than to disgrace that which might descend to me by hereditary right.

“ IT does not escape me, that if my enemies were minded to reply, they could do it with all the graces of eloquence and composition; but since no time or place can screen either you or me from their slander (merely for that I am so highly honoured by your approbation) I determined to continue silent no longer, lest my reserve should be interpreted into conscious acquiescence; for, as to any thing else, my heart assures me no language can affect my character; if truth is spoken of me, applause must be mine,

“ if

234 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ if falsehood, my life and morals shall triumph
 “ o’er the tale.

“ SINCE, however, the propriety of your re-
 “ solution is questioned, in that you have heaped
 “ these highest honours on me, and intrusted to
 “ me this most important concern, consider, I be-
 “ seech you, again and again, whether you may
 “ not find reason to determine anew. I have no
 “ images, no triumphs, no consulates of my pro-
 “ genitors to exhibit, for the purpose of reconci-
 “ ling your confidence to my cause, but, if neces-
 “ sary, spears, standards, trappings, and other
 “ military honours can be displayed, and the fore-
 “ part of my body all covered with wounds—these
 “ are my statues;—this is my nobility;—not left
 “ to me by inheritance, as is theirs to them, but
 “ acquired for myself, by my own valour, amidst
 “ frightful perils and the most painful toils.

“ My language wants refinement too—insigni-
 “ ficant I deem the want.—The merits of virtue
 “ are amply proved by itself: my opponents in-
 “ deed, have occasion to smooth their tongues,
 “ that thus their harangues may draw a veil over
 “ the infamy of their misdeeds.—Neither have I
 “ studied the Grecian literature—little inclination
 “ did I, truly, feel for such a study, which failed
 “ to instruct the very teachers of it in the princi-
 “ ples of virtue.—But I have learned that which
 “ is, by far, most beneficial to the state—to
 “ wound

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 235

“ wound the enemy,—to keep guard,—to fear
“ nothing but loss of reputation,—to bear equally
“ the winter’s cold and summer’s heat,—to make
“ the bare ground my resting place, and to sustain,
“ at once, the horrors of poverty and the
“ severity of fatigue.

“ Such are the precepts by which I mean to inspire
“ my troops ; they shall not feel the rigours
“ of discipline, while their general wants in luxury,
“ nor will I seek from their hardships to draw my renown. A command so regulated
“ must prove full of utility, it is that which befits
“ the citizens of a free state.—For to treat your
“ own person with delicacy, while you harshly
“ enforce your army’s discipline, is surely not to
“ act the general’s, but the merciless tyrant’s
“ part.

“ By this mode of proceeding your ancestors
“ rendered themselves and their republic glorious,
“ on the strength of which the nobility now
“ presume ; and, while their system of life is
“ wholly opposite, affect to despise us who are
“ emulous of equal renown ; demanding, at the
“ same time, the honours in your disposal as their
“ due, not suing for them, as the rewards of illustrious
“ deeds.—But these haughtiest of mortals
“ are bewildered from their road ; what their
“ ancestors had dominion over they have left them
“ to possess,—their wealth, their statues, and the
“ story

236 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

“ story of their greatness ;—but the noble principles of the soul, they neither did nor could bequeath ;—these alone cannot be transferred as a gift, nor can they be so received.

“ THEY report too that I want dignity, and that my manners are uncivilized, because I am not skilled in the mystery of the banquet, maintain no buffoon to pleasure my guests, nor cook at higher expence than an ordinary husbandman, and these charges, my fellow citizens, I admit with satisfaction ;—for I was ever instructed by my father and other upright men, that neatness was suited to women, and labour to men ;—that all who wished for esteem should prize glory beyond riches, and that arms reflected more honour than furniture or equipage.

“ LET them then pursue the measures so replete with happiness, and so dear to their hearts ! —let them engage in amours,—let them yield to intoxication !—where they have wasted their youth let them consume their age, in revelry and feasting, in gluttony and base subjection to their lusts ! and let them suffer us to enjoy our sweat, and dust, and other like hardships more soothing to our souls than luxury and repose ;—but this they will not do, for abandoned as they are, and stigmatized for foulest deeds, they have yet the effrontery to grasp at the
“ earnings

“ earnings of virtue : while those destructive prin-
 “ ciples, voluptuousness, and sloth, proving no
 “ way disadvantageous to the men who cherish
 “ them, do yet bring down, by the strangest in-
 “ justice, destruction upon their innocent coun-
 “ try!

“ HAVING now given such an answer as my
 “ own justification called for, not such as the
 “ wickedness of my accusers required, I proceed
 “ to bespeak, for a moment, your attention on
 “ the publick concerns.—First then, my fellow
 “ citizens, hope all things from Numidia, for Ju-
 “ gurtha's past protection is this day superseded,
 “ since avarice, ignorance and pride are no more.
 “ —Further, our army there has, doubtless, full
 “ knowledge of the country, but is, trust me, by
 “ far less fortunate than brave, being wasted by
 “ the rapaciousness or rashness of former leaders.
 “ —Ye, therefore, whose years declare you fit for
 “ war, assist me in this emergency, and succour
 “ the state! be not dismayed by the misfortunes
 “ of others, or the arrogance of your late com-
 “ manders ; while ye march, or are engaged in
 “ battle, I will ever be at hand, watchful for your
 “ preservation while I share the danger of the day,
 “ and still equally careful of your interests as my
 “ own.

“ Thus then, by the favour of heaven, all our
 “ wishes will be speedily accomplished ; the victo-
 “ ry,

“ry, spoil, and glory shall be ours;—yet, if a
 “doubt could arise in the business, if this triumph
 “was far removed, still it would be the duty of
 “all good citizens to prop their falling country;
 “for his sloth has never conferred immortality on
 “the sluggard, nor did ever parent entertain a
 “wish for the eternity of his children, but rather
 “that they might close existence with honour
 “and applause.—I would, my fellow citizens,
 “enlarge this oration, if I thought that words
 “could invigorate the coward, for to the brave
 “it were superfluous to add any more.”

WHEN Marius perceived, at the conclusion of
 his speech, that the minds of the people were
 elevated with hope, he forthwith loaded the
 shipping with provision for his troops, with their
 pay, with arms, and all other necessaries. With
 these Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant, was ordered
 to set forward, while himself proceeded to en-
 list soldiers for the expedition, not as had been
 the ancient usage, or according to the different
 classes, but as each man offered himself, and
 chiefly from amongst the dregs of the people.
 Some gave out that these were chosen for lack of
 better citizens; others that the consul's ambition
 was the cause; for he was the idol of the com-
 monalty, and to them he owed his greatness.
 Besides, the most needy are still best fitted for
 his purpose who aims at power; unincumbered
 with property they have nothing private to at-
 tract

tract their regards, and every employment is deemed honourable that promises reward. Thus Marius set out for Africa with a body of forces somewhat greater than had been decreed him, and within a few days arrived at Utica.

THERE the army was delivered over to him by Publius Rutilius, the lieutenant, for Metellus avoided a meeting with Marius, that he might not be shocked by a fight, the bare report of which was intolerable.

THE consul then, having completed his legions and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a fruitful country replenished with spoil, there all the plunder was distributed amongst his troops: next he assaulted some towns and fortresses indifferently secured by nature, or but slightly garrisoned, and fought sundry skirmishes in different parts: the recruits, meanwhile, were present, without dread, at these engagements; they observed the runaways still made prisoners, or slaughtered on the field, and the bravest ever most removed from danger; were convinced that the soldier's valour was the surest protector of his liberty, his country, his kindred, and all things dear; and that by it renown and riches were acquired. Thus the veterans, and new raised forces, soon became as one corps, nor were they, in future, distinguished by any superiority in the field.

BUT

240 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

BUT the two kings, when they learned the arrival of Marius, retired, by different routes, into dangerous defiles; this measure was advised by Jugurtha, who hoped that the enemy would presently scatter and lie open to an attack; concluding, that the Romans, like the generality of foldiers, would relax their discipline, and be less upon their guard, when the fear of immediate danger was removed. Metellus, meanwhile, having reached Rome, was received, contrary to his expectation, with every mark of esteem and joy; being, now that envy had ceased to malign his name, beloved with equal affection by both senate and people.

AT the same time Marius watched over his own and the enemy's affairs with the most cautious vigilance, studied every matter of use or disadvantage to either, followed the monarchs, with his eye, in all their motions, anticipated their designs and stratagems, and, while he guarded against any mischief to his own people, permitted not them to rest.—So when Jugurtha, and the Gætulians, had pillaged any of our allies, and were bearing off the spoil, he often assailed and routed them in their retreat, and had stripped that king, in person, of his arms, at no great distance from the town of Cirta.

BUT finding that these exploits were rather splendid than conclusive, he determined upon
surprising

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 241

surprising such cities as, either from the number of troops in garrison, or advantages of situation, were most important to the enemy, or most troublesome to himself; thinking, that if Jugurtha lay idle, he must lose his defences, or if he chose to preserve them, must engage in the field.

WITH respect to Bocchus, he had sent him frequent messengers, with an avowal of his wishes for the friendship of Rome, and an assurance, that nothing of enmity was to be dreaded from him; but it is not clear whether this was done upon a principle of dissimulation, that his onset being unexpected, might fall heavier upon our troops; or whether he was actuated by a versatility of temper, ever prompting him to exchange war for peace, and peace for war.

THE consul, however, pursuant to his plan, approached the fortified towns and castles; some of these he gained by force, some by the terror of his arms, and some by promises of reward; yet he only attempted light matters at first, as he expected Jugurtha would advance to protect his people, and that a battle must, of course, ensue. But hearing that he still kept aloof, and was otherwise employed, the time seemed to invite him to higher and more dangerous enterprises.

Q

THERE

242 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THERE stood in the midst of frightful deserts an immense and powerful city named Capsa, and founded, it was said, by the Libyan Hercules. To its inhabitants many immunities had been granted by Jugurtha, who exercised his authority over them with mildness and moderation, on which accounts they were esteemed most faithful to his cause. Secure from invasion by their fortifications, by their arms, and their troops, they were yet more secure by the horrors of the region ; the whole of which was (save only the environs of the city) dreary, uncultivated, without water, and annoyed by serpents ; whose rage, like all other creatures of the desert, is still more furious when stimulated by famine ; add to this, that the poisonous quality of that monster is more envenomed by thirst than any other aggravation.

MARIUS burned with desire to possess this city, as well because it was important to the purposes of the war, as for that the undertaking seemed so arduous and bold : moreover, Metellus had acquired great glory by the conquest of Thala, and its situation and defences were almost equally forbidding ; in this only they varied ; without the walls of Thala were some few fountains, whereas the people of Capsa had but a single spring within the town, which, with the assistance of rain water, was their sole supply.

THIS

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 243

THIS want was the more easily sustained there (as well as throughout those districts of Africa, whose inhabitants were more uncivilized, as they lived more remote from the sea) inasmuch as these Numidians subsisted chiefly on milk and venison, without using salt, or any other provocatives to appetite; their food was taken as a preservative against thirst and famine, and not for the indulgence of sensuality and luxury.

WITH all these disadvantages full in his view, the consul's determination must have been influenced (according to my belief) by a firm reliance on the assistance of heaven, as human foresight could not serve to provide effectually against such dangers; besides, another obstacle in his way was the scarcity of corn, for the Numidians choose rather to lay out their grounds in provender for their cattle, than to cultivate the soil; and any little grain produced from them was now secured in fortified places, by their king's command; moreover, the earth was parched up and yielded nothing at that season, seeing that the summer was then shutting in; yet his measures were planned with as much prudence as could be exerted in such a situation.

ORDERING then the auxiliary horse to drive forward all the cattle that had been made prize of for some days before, he next commanded Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant, to march with the

light armed cohorts to the city of Laris, where he had deposited the pay and provision for his troops; instructing him that himself was now going upon a foraging party, and would follow him thither within a few days.

Thus veiling his intention he moved onwards to the river Tana; moreover, in his daily progress he distributed an equal proportion of the cattle amongst the companies of infantry, and troops of horse, and was careful to have bottles formed out of their skins; qualifying at once, by this measure, the scarceness of grain, and providing, unknown to all, what would presently aid his design; so that by the time they reached the river on the sixth day, an immense collection of these bottles was made.

HERE, having cast up a slight intrenchment, he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves, and to prepare for their departure by the close of the day; withall, to cast away the whole of their baggage; and to load themselves, and their beasts of burden with water alone: accordingly, at the appointed hour, he forsook the camp, and continuing his route through the season of darkness, sat down again when day appeared, and observed the same measures on the ensuing night. At length, long before the third morning dawned, he reached a spot set thick with hillocks, not more than two miles

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 245

miles from Capsa, and there lay in ambush, with all his forces, in the most concealed situation.

BUT when the day broke, and numbers of the Numidians, not dreading any mischief, had issued from the city, on a sudden he commanded the whole body of cavalry, with the fleetest of the foot, to speed on to Capsa, and to possess the gates, while diligent and eager he followed close behind without suffering his soldiers to loiter for the spoil.

THE inhabitants now finding how matters were circumstanced, their confusion, their great affright, and the surprise of the blow (added to the knowledge that many of their fellow citizens were in the enemy's power without the walls) all constrained them to yield the place. The city was, however, reduced to ashes; the young men put to the sword, all the others sold to slavery, and the plunder distributed amongst the troops.—This outrage against the laws of war was not adopted by the consul, upon any principle of avarice or inhumanity, but merely to advantage the Roman cause; for the place lay very convenient to Jugurtha, whilst our approach to it was replete with perils; besides the people were naturally wavering and perfidious, and neither to be awed or flattered into settled submission.

THIS

THIS great adventure being achieved by Marius without any loss on our side, mighty and illustrious as he was before, his character now became far more splendid and renowned, insomuch that when his undertakings were even rash and imprudent, his exalted genius still got credit for them all. His soldiers, who experienced no severity, and were yet enriched under his command, extolled him to the heavens; the Numidians dreaded him as something above mortality, and it was, finally, believed both by friends and foes, that either his mind was enlarged by a portion of the divinity, or that, his successes were all foreboded by the approbation of the gods.

WHEN the Consul had happily concluded this business, he proceeded to the assault of other cities, some few of which were taken after a slight resistance, but, in general, they were deserted by reason of the severity used to the people of Capsa; these were burned to the ground, and every quarter filled with wailing and carnage. At length having subdued many places, chiefly without bloodshed on his side, he formed an enterprise not equally forbidding as that against Capsa with respect to the difficulties of the region, but otherwise attended with no less danger.

FOR at no great distance from the river Mulu-cha (the boundary between Jugurtha's and Bocchus's kingdoms) a rocky mountain reared itself
to

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 247

to a prodigious height from the midst of the plain ; on its summit (being of considerable extent) a castle of moderate size had been built, into which no passage led, save one extremely narrow ; for the whole was as bad a precipice by nature, as if art and industry had conspired to render it frightful.

MARIUS exerted his utmost endeavours to possess this place, inasmuch as the king's treasures were deposited there ;—his success, however, was rather fortuitous than the result of design, for the castle was stored with arms and full of men, had great abundance of corn, and was supplied with water from a spring : the approaches too were badly adapted to mounds, moving turrets, and the other enginery of a siege, and the entrance path for the soldiers in garrison was very strait in itself, and had, moreover, on each side of it an headlong steep. The galleries of the besiegers, after infinite peril, were advanced in vain, seeing that when they were moved within reach of the besieged, they were either consumed by fire, or dashed to pieces by monstrous stones : our troops could not stand before the works, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, nor yet act amongst the galleries without the utmost danger ; while the bravest of the army were either slain or disabled, and such as escaped were, on that account, depressed by additional dismay.

AFTER

248 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

AFTER much expence of time and toil before this place, Marius anxiously deliberated within himself, whether he should desist from an undertaking so evidently idle, or wait a lucky stroke of fortune, many of which he had happily improved. Whilst he revolved, all in a ferment, these considerations day and night in his mind, it chanced that a certain Ligurian, a common soldier in the auxiliary cohorts, who left the camp in search of water, should perceive some few shell snails crawling amongst the rocks, not far from that side of the castle which was most removed from the engagement. These gathering up one by one, and seeking studiously for more, he imperceptibly reached almost the summit of the mountain; there, finding that solitude reigned all around, the natural curiosity which prompts men to examine into things unknown, promoted a desire in him to go on,

HERE it fortune'd that a vast oak should shoot from amongst the rocks, which inclining downwards at first, reared itself again, and thus towered upwards, as is the nature of this part of the vegetable creation. The Ligurian, now aided by its branches, and anon by the prominent rocks in his ascent, was at last enabled to survey the ground whereon the castle stood; for all the Numidians were intent on the conflict. After examining every matter minutely which might serve his future purpose, he returned by the same track,

track, not at random as he had mounted, but scanning all things curiously, and with the utmost circumspection. Then appearing hastily before Marius he informed him of the business, and advised him to attempt the castle on that side from whence he had descended, promising that himself would point out the road, and first confront the danger.

MARIUS instantly dispatched away some of his attendants with the Ligurian to prove the validity of his account, who, upon their return, pronounced the enterprise feasible or otherwise, just as their different opinions swayed; yet the consul's expectations were somewhat enlarged; wherefore, out of all his trumpets and cornetters he chose five the most active, and with these he ordered off four companies, with their respective centurions, as a guard, requiring the whole to submit to the Ligurian's instructions, and appointing the ensuing day for the trial.

WHEN the time allotted for this experiment was now at hand, and every necessary matter adjusted, he proceeded to the scene of action; but the centurions, as previously admonished by their guide, adopted a new mode of arming and attiring themselves, and their troops, marching barefooted, and without any covering on their heads, that their prospect upwards might be the less impeded, and their footing amongst the rocks the
more

250 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

more secure, and bearing on their backs both their swords and shields ; the latter of which were made of leather in the Numidian manner, and chosen as well for their lightness, as by reason that, if any thing struck them, the noise would be less perceptible.

THE Ligurian then, leading the way, bound cords round the prominent rocks, and such withered roots as appeared above the surface of the ground, by the help of which the soldiers might more easily ascend the steep ; at times too he lent his hand to forward any of them whom the unusual journey affected with dismay ; where the declivity was more dreadful he caused them to mount without their arms, with which himself would quickly climb after them ; whatever path seemed impracticable that he chiefly attempted, and by frequently ascending and descending in the same track, and anon by taking others, he inspired his fellows with resolution : in conclusion, after a tedious and fatiguing struggle, they reached the castle which was deserted on that side, for the inhabitants were then, as usual, all employed in another quarter against the foe.

THE Ligurian's success being notified by a message to Marius, notwithstanding he had held the Numidians engaged throughout the day, yet he now, more especially, encouraged his troops, and, advancing in person from the galleries, caused
them

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 251

them to move up the rock with their shields raised above their heads in the form of a shell ; while, at the same time, his machines of war, his archers and slingers, kept up a terrible distant discharge.

BUT the Numidians, who had often overturned and fired the Roman works, sought not for protection within their castle walls ; on the contrary they paraded whole days and nights without the fortifications, insulting the Romans, taxing Marius with insanity, and menacing our troops with slavery to Jugurtha ; in a word they were become daring and insolent on the success of their affairs. Now in the rage of a general battle, wherein both Romans and Numidians exerted every effort of desperate valour (the former for glory and empire, the others for liberty and life) a sudden sound of warlike musick from behind assailed the Numidians ears : the women and children, drawn by curiosity to the combat, fled first upon the noise, these were followed by others who were nearest to the walls, and at last by the whole body whether armed or unarmed.

AVAILING themselves of this circumstance the Romans pressed on with redoubled vigour, dispersing them, and in their hurry barely wounding most of their enemies ; then making themselves a road over the bodies of the slain, and eager for renown, rushing emulously to the walls,
nor

252 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

nor was there a man found in all the army whom the plunder could retard : thus Marius's rash measures were accidentally qualified, and fortune crowned even his error with glory.

It was at this period that Lucius Sylla, the quæstor, (who had been left at Rome by the consul to collect forces from Latium and the confederates) arrived in the camp with a considerable body of horse : but since this incident has introduced the mention of so great a man, it is but proper to touch lightly on his natural and acquired abilities, more especially as it is not my purpose to speak of Sylla elsewhere, and forasmuch as Lucius Sisenna, the most elaborate and elegant of all his historians, seems to me not to have been so diffuse upon the subject as he ought.

SYLLA then was descended from a noble patrician stock, but the indolence of some of his progenitors had almost extinguished the family name. A perfect and equal master of the languages of Greece and Rome, he possessed the most refined elevation of soul, and tho' the votary of pleasure, was more captivated by renown. —All dissolved in voluptuousness, during a recess from employment, he was yet most careful not to admit it to interrupt his affairs ; if we except the instance regarding his wife, in which more discretion might have been observed. —Eloquent, insinuating, and courteous in his friendships,

ships, he had an inexpressible depth of genius for state intrigue.—Lavish of every favour, but chiefly of his wealth, and altho' of all the Romans he owed most to fortune before he subdued his country, yet his diligence was ever equal to its efforts in his favour ; so that it was frequently debated, whether his own abilities, or the influence of fortune, chiefly advanced his cause. As to his subsequent conduct, I am doubtful to determine, whether shame or grief would most induce me to draw a veil over the whole.

AFTER Sylla's arrival (as has been said) in Africa and the camp of Marius, with the cavalry, he became, in a short time, most remarkable for his skill in war, tho' before entirely unacquainted with, and ignorant of, military affairs. He was, moreover, particularly soothing in his address to the soldiers ; the numbers suing to him for favours were all bountifully supplied, and many shared his unsolicited munificence, while, if perchance, he was constrained to submit to obligation, it was repaid with greater eagerness than if it had been a pecuniary loan, at the same that he was cautious not to look for any recompense for acts of kindness, but rather earnest to swell the list of the obliged.—Suiting his temper to the humblest he was grave or gay with them by turns, and still present amongst the works, upon a march, or at the sentinel's post ; yet, with all this, never carping at the consul's, or any other great

great man's fame, but only studious not to be outstript in either prudence or bravery, and indeed he exceeded the generality in both.—Thus his conduct and great actions quickly reconciled to him the warmest affection of Marius, and of all his soldiers.

To return to Jugurtha, when he had now lost Capsa and many other places well fortified and convenient, with an immensity of treasure, he dispatched ambassadours to Bocchus to hasten him into Numidia with his forces without delay, giving him to know, that an opportunity now offered for attacking the Romans : but finding him dilatory, and disposed to ruminate on the inducements to peace or war, he again assailed his intimates (as heretofore) with bribes, and engaged an entire third of Numidia to the Moor, when once the Romans should be expelled from Africa, or the war concluded without amputation of his territories.

THIS tempting offer prevailing with Bocchus, he advanced towards Jugurtha with a prodigious force, and the two armies, being united, they attacked Marius about four o'clock in the evening, (who was now moving into winter quarters,) confident that the approaching darkness would shield them under discomfiture, without interrupting them if victorious, as the country was quite familiar to them ; while, on the contrary, the

the Romans must be disadvantaged by it, whether conquered or conquerours.

ON the instant then that the consul was informed, by numbers, of the enemy's approach, themselves appeared in view ; and before the army could be formed, or the baggage collected, before a standard could be reared, or any commands understood, the Moorish and Gætulian horsemen came furiously on, not in regular order, nor according to any rules of war, but in confused groups just as chance had imbodyed them. Our people all disordered by sudden affright, and yet inspirited by recollection of their former bravery, either armed themselves in haste, or guarded their fellows while taking arms ; some mounted their horses and sprung forward to face the foe ; it was more like to an attack of loose banditti than an engagement between disciplined armies, for the foot and horse were crowded together without ensigns or observance of order. Some of our troops were slain outright, some of them were maimed, many were assailed by the enemy behind, while desperately engaged in front, nor could their prowess, or their arms prove a sufficient defence, seeing that they were outnumbered by their adversaries, and encompassed from every quarter.

IN this emergency the Romans (as well the veterans as recruits, for these last were now complete in war through the example of the others) formed

formed themselves into circular bodies, as accident or station united them, and being thus guarded and prepared on every side at once, they were enabled to repel the efforts of the foe. Nor was Marius in the least confounded throughout this bitterest struggle, nor did his usual spirit desert him on the occasion, for ranging over all the field, at the head of his own troop (in the filling up of which he had been more influenced by bravery than friendship) he now supported his suffering soldiers, anon assaulted the enemy's thickest ranks, and, in conclusion, aided his troops by his personal valour, when he found that, in such general confusion, he must wave the general's part.

It was now night, and yet the barbarians abated not the fury of their onset, nay, rather urged it with fresh vigour by their monarch's commands, who assured themselves the darkness must further their cause. But Marius then formed a plan suited to the crisis of his affairs, and possessed himself of two hills adjoining to one another, with an intent thus to secure a safe retreat for his troops. On one of these (too contracted for an encampment) there was a considerable spring of water, and the other was particularly suited to that purpose, because, as the greatest part of it was high and steep, it required but little trouble to render it a place of safety.

NIGH to this fountain Sylla was directed to keep guard all night with the cavalry, while he in person collected his scattered forces (nor was the enemy in less disorder) and withdrew them from the field in full march towards the hill. Here the difficulties of the situation deterred the royal warriors from continuing the engagement, yet they did not suffer their armies to remain at a great distance; but surrounding both eminences with their numerous bands, they sat down in this wide extended order. Then kindling many fires, they expressed their triumph through the night, in vaulting from the ground, (as is their custom) and shouts of exultation; nay, their overbearing commanders, because they had not been compelled to fly, displayed the utmost influence of victory.

Now these transactions were all noticed by the Romans, and encouraged them not a little, for enveloped in darkness themselves, and encamped on higher ground, they had the greater opportunity of perceiving the whole. But their conduct animated Marius more than any of the rest, who gave orders that the deepest silence should be observed, and that no signals should be repeated (as was usual) from the different sentinels; at length when morning dawned, and the enemy, already exhausted, was surrendered to repose, all the trumpeters of the auxiliary forces, as well as of the cohorts, troops, and legions, were suddenly

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258 THE JUGURTHINE WAR

ly commanded to sound an universal charge, and the soldiers to raise a general shout, and rush through the gates. The Moors and Gætulians, aroused by this strange and hideous uproar, were incapable of either flight or defence, of either act or counsel, for such was the din of arms and oral noise, (while no assistance offered, and while our troops, bearing terror and dismay, poured tumultuously on) that all were utterly bereft of their presence of mind. In a word, they were entirely routed and dispersed, most of their arms and military ensigns were secured, and the carnage in this battle was greater than in all the former, for slumber and strange affright obstructed their escape. Marius then proceeded towards his winter quarters, (as before the late interruption,) which he had determined to fix in the maritime cities for the convenience of provisions; nor did he swell upon this triumph, or become careless from his success, but continued his march, with his troops formed into a square, as if still under the enemy's eye.

SYLLA, with the cavalry, was stationed on the right; Aulus Manlius, at the head of the archers and slingers, together with the Ligurian cohorts, commanded on the left; the military tribunes were placed over the light armed bands in front and rear, and the deserters, whose safety he was little anxious to secure, and who were best acquainted with the country, were to watch the motions

motions of the foe : still, however, the consul, (as if no substitute was appointed) attended to every matter in person ; all quarters were visited, and, as occasion called, applause or reproof were bestowed. As he was always under arms and vigilant himself, he compelled his soldiers to copy after his example, nor was his precaution in fortifying his camp a whit inferiour to his attention upon a march.—A watch was established at the gate formed out of the legionary cohorts, while the auxiliary horse patrolled before the entrenchments ; others, moreover, were stationed in the works upon the rampart, and himself went, in rotation, through the different guards ; not so much for that he feared any neglect of his orders, as that the soldiers might deem lightly of their labours when they witnessed to their general's sharing the toil ; and indeed Marius both then, and at other periods of the Jugurthine war, kept up the discipline of his forces by shaming them to their duty rather than by severity, which conduct many construed into ambition ; but others accounted for it from his early addiction to hardships, and his satisfaction in a course of life which numbers held for misery :—be that as it may, it is a fact that the affairs of government were as happily and gloriously conducted, as if his authority had been enforced by the utmost rigour of command.

260 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

To proceed then, on the fourth ensuing day, when they were now at no great distance from the city of Cirta, the scouts appeared, all at once, speeding towards them from different quarters, by which it was manifest the enemy was at hand ; but as all returned in contrary directions, and all notified the same thing, the consul, who was uncertain how to draw up his forces, rested in his place, without altering his position, as he was thus prepared on every side ; so Jugurtha's hopes deceived him, for he had formed his troops in four divisions, concluding that when the whole charged at the same time, some of them must be able to fall upon the rear of the Romans : Sylla, meanwhile, whom the enemy came up with soonest, ranged his cavalry in troops, in the thickest order, and in this manner he and others rushed forward against the Moors ; while those that remained in their stations, guarded their bodies from the javelins launched from afar, and when any of the foes came within their reach incontinently slew them.

DURING this encounter of the horse Bocchus fell upon the rearguard of the Romans, at the head of the infantry brought up by Volux his son ; nor were they present at the former engagement, as their march had been delayed : Marius was at this period busy in the van, as Jugurtha attacked there in person with the largest body of forces, but now the Numidian, hearing Bocchus had advanced,

vanced, slipped off to the infantry with only few attendants, and there exclaimed in Latin (for he had learned that language at Numantia) "that all opposition to him was vain, since Marius had, just before, fallen by his hand," displaying his sword, at the same time, crimsoned over with blood, and thus stained in an encounter with one of our foot, in which he had acquitted himself with great courage, and slain his antagonist.

THE horror of the fact, when they heard it related, made a deeper impression on the soldiers imaginations, than consisted with their opinion of the author's veracity; while the barbarians, availing themselves of it, became proportionally elate, and assailed the affrighted Romans with redoubled fury; and now it wanted but little of general rout, when Sylla, after dispersing those whom he had encountered, took this body of Moors in flank on his return. Bocchus fled on the instant, but Jugurtha (who was eager to sustain his own people, and to preserve the victory so nearly obtained) being encompassed on all sides by our cavalry, and all his followers being slain, burst, single, through a grove of hostile weapons, and escaped with life.

ABOUT this time too Marius, having routed the horse upon his quarter, hastened on to succour his forces in the rear, for report had informed him they began to give way; so that now, at length,

262 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

the enemy was every where defeated. Then was exhibited a spectacle full of horror all over these vast plains;—men flying here, there others in close pursuit;—some butchered now, their fellows anon made prisoners;—horses with their riders cast promiscuously down;—many, grievously wounded, could neither bear to remain on the earth, nor yet could they compass their escape; for struggling to raise themselves they would presently sink feebly to the ground, and, in fine, the whole, far as the eye could strain, was thick bespread with weapons, with armour, and lifeless bodies, while, in the intervening spots, the surface was discoloured with gore.

NEXT day the consul, now manifestly victorious, reached Cirta to which he had originally directed his march; in this city ambassadours from Bocchus, arrived five days after the barbarians second defeat, who besought Marius, as authorized by their king, “to send to him two of his most trusty friends, for that he wished to discourse with them upon matters of mutual advantage to himself and to the Roman people;” Marius forthwith ordered Lucius Sylla, with Aulus Manlius on this errand, and they, altho’ they went by express invitation, yet thought fit to address that monarch in a soothing strain, either to incline him to an accomodation, if it was now foreign from his thoughts, or to inspire him with a more ardent desire for peace, even tho’ really so disposed. Sylla therefore,

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 263

therefore, to whose eloquence Manlius, notwithstanding he was his senior, yielded the precedence, explained his sentiments in the following concise oration.

“ OUR joy swells to transport, inasmuch, king
“ Bocchus, as the gods have admonished thee, all
“ estimable as thou art, to choose peace, even at
“ this late day, in preference to war; and not to
“ tarnish the lustre of thine hitherto spotless character, by communication with Jugurtha, the
“ wickedest of men! while this happy event relieves us from the bitter necessity of punishing
“ equally thine error and his most atrocious
“ crimes: for with the Roman people it was a
“ principle, even from the infancy of their slender
“ establishment, rather to conciliate friendships
“ than to rule over slaves, thinking it more advantageous for them that men should be governed by opinion, than compelled to obedience.
“

“ Now there is no connection that can offer
“ so beneficial to thee as ours,—first, for that
“ the seat of our empire is so far removed; this
“ secures thee from all injury, while thine emoluments in the intercourse are the same as if we
“ were at hand;—again, because we wish not to
“ swell the vast retinue of our subjects, but in
“ friendship we have no idea of superfluity,
“ thinking,

“ thinking, as all others do, that there can be
 “ no redundancy there.

“ THAT thou hadst been, heretofore, still ac-
 “ tuated by thy present resolves is, believe me,
 “ the truest wish of my soul ;—thou wouldest
 “ thus assuredly, in the course of thine alliance
 “ with the Roman people, have experienced fa-
 “ vours counterbalancing infinitely the ills thou
 “ hast sustained : but since to humour the ca-
 “ price of fortune, (that general disposer of e-
 “ vents) it was necessary that thou shouldest make
 “ proof as well of our might as of our courtesy,
 “ avail thyself, with expedition, of this offered
 “ opportunity, and conclude the business thus
 “ auspiciously begun.

“ IT is largely within thine ability to atone for
 “ past errors, and let thy conduct on the occa-
 “ sion be regulated by this maxim ;—the Roman
 “ people were never yet outdone in acts of kind-
 “ ness ;—as to their prowess, let thine own ex-
 “ perience instruct thee there.”

BocCHUS's reply to this was gentle, insinua-
 “ ting, and, in part, exculpatory ; “ He had not ta-
 “ ken up arms from wanton enmity, but merely
 “ to protect his proper kingdom ; he had expel-
 “ led Jugurtha from certain districts of Numi-
 “ dia, they were now his by right of conquest,
 “ nor could he sit down patiently while Marius
 “ wasted

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 265

“wasted these his own dominions ;—another
“cause of chagrin was, he had been affronted
“at Rome, whither he had deputed ambassadours
“to treat of an alliance which had been refused :
“still, howéever, he was most willing to lose the
“memory of past grievances, and, with Marius’s
“permission would dispatch another embassy to
“Rome.”—This privilege was granted in course,
yet the barbarian’s versatility of temper was
wrought on by his confidants, whom Jugurtha
(informed of Sylla’s and Manlius’s message, and
thence fearful of the possible consequence) had
corrupted with bribes.

[WHILE these matters were in agitation, Marius,
after establishing the bulk of his army in their
winter cantonments, drew out the light armed
cohorts, and some squadrons of horse, with which
he marched into a solitary region to besiege a
royal fortress, wherein Jugurtha had stationed a
garrison of deserters alone. At this period then
Bocchus, (either influenced by the recollected
issue of the two former battles, or better advised
by such of his friends as Jugurtha had not soften-
ed) chose out of the circle of all his intimates,
five persons of approved fidelity, and of the most
extensive understandings : these he deputed as
ambassadours to Marius, and thence (by his fa-
vour) forward to Rome, with general discretio-
nary powers for adjusting all matters of diffe-
rence, and for concluding the war at any rate.

The

266 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

The ambassadours soon proceeded towards the winter quarters of the Romans, but being beset and pillaged in their journey by Gætulian robbers, they, all dismayed, and stript of every outward mark of dignity, fled for refuge to Sylla, who had been left behind with the title of pro-prætor by the consul, when he set out on this expedition.

SYLLA received them not, as they merited, like trifling enemies, but with infinite attention and great munificence, by which conduct the barbarians were induced to believe the general story of the Roman avarice ill founded, and that Sylla (he was so liberal) was really interested in their cause;—for most people knew not, even at that day, that the bountiful meant possibly to seduce; generosity was imputed to the inborn disposition; and the liberal still got credit for nobility of soul. Thus actuated, they disclosed to the quæstor the message intrusted by Bocchus, and implored him to become in it their advocate and assistant:—the great armies, the inviolable sincerity, the glory of their monarch, together with every matter, either useful or conciliatory, were fully exemplified and extolled to the skies, and having, in a word, got their lesson from Sylla (who made them hope for all things) as well relative to their overtures to Marius, as their behaviour in the senate, they there abided the consul's return, about forty days.

WHEN

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 267

WHEN Marius (who had now returned to Cirta, after an ineffectual enterprize) became acquainted with the ambassadours arrival and sojourn in that city, he ordered them and Sylla before him, together with Lucius Bellienus, the prætor, called in from Utica, and all the Romans in that country who held the rank of senators. Before these he informed himself of Bocchus's commission, and by their concurrence the ambassadours had permission to visit Rome; while, in the interim, it was made a stipulation with the consul that a truce should be maintained. This was pleasing to Sylla, and most of the officers; yet some cried down the lenity of the measure, but those were but poorly versed in the human system, which, fluctuating and infirm, is still liable to the strokes of adverse fortune: the Moors then being gratified in every wish, three of them passed on to Rome in the suit of Cneius Octavius Rufo, who, as quæstor, had brought the soldiers pay into Africk; the remaining two returned to their king: from them Bocchus heard, with pleasure, the detail of every circumstance, but Sylla's complacence and zeal affected him beyond all; and his ambassadours at Rome, having deprecated the wrath of the senate upon the principles of his own errour, and Jugurtha's iniquitous persuasion, were answered, in this manner, to their application for our friendship, and a league.

“THE

“THE senate and people of Rome are not accustomed to forget either favours or injuries, yet they remit to Bocchus his offences, since he professes penitence ;—it is his own desert which must, hereafter, entitle him to their friendship and alliance.”

“WHEN this resolution was notified to Bocchus, he wrote to Marius, and entreated him to suffer Sylla to attend him, under whose arbitration all matters in debate might be adjusted. He was accordingly sent with a guard of horse, of foot, and Balearian slingers ; the archers too made part of his train, and a Pelignian cohort accoutred, for the sake of expedition, with the light troops arms ; nor was it requisite to secure these with any of better proof, seeing that the weapons of the enemy were but slight and ineffectual.

THEY were now continuing their march on the fifth day, when Bocchus's son, Volux, appeared suddenly in the open country, with about a thousand horse ; but as they moved in loose and straggling order, Sylla imagined, as did all his men, that the number was greater than it really was, and their fears told them they approached with an hostile intent : all, therefore, hastened to prepare for the engagement, trying and proving their armour and weapons, and tho' somewhat apprehensive, they were still more encouraged to
hope,

hope, inasmuch as themselves, who had triumphed so often, were now to encounter their still vanquished enemies again. Our horsemen, meantime, who had been sent out for intelligence, reported the matter as it was, that all was peace; Volux too advancing saluted the quæstor, and informed him, his father Bocchus had sent him forward to meet and conduct them on; so uniting their forces, they marched together unmolested both that and the following day: but after encamping, when it was now evening, the Moor ran hastily to Sylla, his countenance overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, and told him he had just learned from his spies that Jugurtha was at hand, beseeching, moreover, and prompting him to avail himself of the darkness, and escape in secret with him alone.

SYLLA answered him sternly, that, "he felt not the slightest dread of the Numidian so repeatedly overthrown; he was confident in his army's bravery, but were destruction inevitable he would rather abide it, than betray his soldiers interests by attempting to preserve a life, which would, at any rate, be only precarious in ignominious flight, and, if saved, might possibly fall a victim to future sudden disease;" yet when Volux advised him to proceed in his march that night he benefited by his counsel, and ordering his troops to sup immediately, and to light many fires in the camp, he further directed

rected them to forsake it in silence at the first watch.

FINALLY, when it was now sun-rise, and the whole body fatigued by their progress in the season of darkness, just as Sylla was allotting the ground for his encampment, the Moorish horsemen gave him notice, that Jugurtha was stationed about two miles onward in their road. This report becoming publick, our people were now, indeed, oppressed with mortal terrors, for they believed themselves betrayed by Volux, and beset by an ambuscade. Some went so far as to avow that Volux ought to die, and that such abandoned treachery should not pass unrevenge'd; Sylla thought the same, yet he screened the Moor from any outrage, exhorting his soldiers at the same time—"not to be cast down; it had often, heretofore, happened, that a small spirited body had maintained a successful conflict against a numerous force; the less they reserved themselves in the engagement, the more their safety was ascertained; it was not consistent that he who had a weapon in his hand, should seek protection from his defenceless feet, or turn, in the hour of greatest peril, that part of his body which had neither eyes nor armour to the foe;"—then invoking almighty Jove to witness the crimes and perfidy of Bocchus, he ordered "Volux, now supposed an enemy, to depart the camp."

BUT

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 271

BUT Volux drowned in tears implored him, “not to harbour such injurious thoughts ; there “was no treachery in the business ; Jugurtha’s “over-reaching cunning had occasioned all ; he “had observed him with a wary eye, and must “thence have discovered his march ; however he “was convinced nothing would be openly attempted on the occasion, while he in person attended to testify the violence, for his army was far “from numerous, and both his means and hopes “rested on Bocchus his father ; wherefore it was, “in his view, the most salutary measure, to pass “publicly through his camp ; as to himself he “would either leave the Moors behind, or send “them on before, and thus make the experiment “with Sylla alone.” This motion was approved of as the situation required ; they set out on the instant, and as their unexpected appearance allowed Jugurtha no time for recollection or resolves, they shot thro’ his camp without injury, and reached, a few days after, the scene of their destination.

HERE, at this period, a certain Numidian named Aspar, treated much with Bocchus, and was intimate in his confidence ; this man had been dispatched to him by Jugurtha when he heard Sylla was sent for, to anticipate that errand, was eloquent, and an artful spy upon his designs. He entertained in his court, besides, Dabar the son of Massugrada, of the house of Masinissa (but defective

fective in the female line, as his father was born of a concubine,) who was beloved by, and agreeable to him for his many valuable endowments, and whose attachment to the Roman interest he had often occasion to observe before; him he forthwith directed to wait on Sylla with this message; "the Roman people should find him ready to obey all their commands; time, place, and particular opportunity of discourse were all at Sylla's own option; every consultation should be held entirely between themselves; he had no reason to dread the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador; their mutual concerns would be thus forwarded with the greater freedom; his presence was tolerated merely because he could not otherwise guard against his master's schemes."—Still however, notwithstanding these professions of goodwill, I find Bocchus rather influenced by an hollowness of heart peculiar to the region, to amuse both the Romans and the Numidians with a prospect of peace, and that it was long the anxious debate of his bosom, whether Jugurtha should be yielded up to the Romans, or the Romans to Jugurtha, his propensity of mind acting against us, but his fears operating in our favour.

SYLLA then replied, that he would say but little before Aspar, that as to the rest, the profoundest secrecy must be observed, for that he would admit no person, or at least, as few as might be, to the

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 273

the conference; he instructed him moreover what answer he expected in publick to his embassy. When the congress opened as they appointed, Sylla declared he was sent thither by the consul, "to inquire, whether Bocchus's determination was for peace or war?" That king then (who had his lesson) charged him, "to return after ten days, for he had yet formed no absolute purpose, but would then resolve him," thus both parties retired to their several camps. But when the night was now far advanced, Sylla's attendance was required privately by Bocchus; each brought only along a trusty interpreter, but Dabar also was present as a common intercessor, and he, being a man approved for sanctity of manners, swore, as they mutually desired, to be faithful to both, upon which the king immediately thus began.

"THAT I, the most puissant potentate throughout these regions, and the mightiest of all those whom my knowledge has yet reached, should have obligations to thee, Sylla, (thyself no monarch) is an occurrence that never heretofore had a place in my thoughts; and indeed Sylla, before mine acquaintance with thee, I have been bountiful to many suitors, nay, unsolicited, bestowed my favours, while the superiority of my own situation rendered superfluous every aid.

"THAT I have now fallen from this height
 " (the general source of sorrow) is a circumstance
 " which fills my bosom with joy : it shall ever be
 " my happiness that thy friendship was necessary
 " to me, than which there is no comfort dearer to
 " my soul, and how truly I express my feelings
 " learn thou by immediate trial ;—mine arms, my
 " troops, my treasures, and, in fine, whatever thy
 " wish stamps value on, take, use, and make thine
 " own ; nor think that, while life remains to thee
 " my gratitude can be sufficiently proved, in my
 " memory it shall still flourish, nor shall a wish
 " of thine heart pass without gratification when
 " once imparted to me ; for it is, in my opinion,
 " less reproachful to the royal character to be con-
 " quered by arms, than in generosity outdone.

" Now attend to me a moment on the business
 " of your nation, whose commissioner thou hast
 " been delegated here ; I never yet waged war
 " against the Roman people, nor was it ever my
 " intent that such should be waged ; I defended,
 " in arms, my own territories from hostile inroads ;
 " but I maintain this point no longer :—When
 " the Romans are so minded let them war against
 " Jugurtha as their fancy leads, I will not, for my
 " part, pass over the river Mulucha (the ancient
 " boundary between Micipsa and me) nor shall
 " Jugurtha, by my permission, appear on this
 " side ; I have only to add, that if thou hast any
 " suit

“suit to me, which can be granted consistently
 “with mine honour, and that of your republick,
 “thou shalt not depart my kingdom mortified by
 “refusal.”

THE encomiums on himself Sylla replied to
 concisely, and with modest reserve, but on the
 national business, and the peace in agitation, he
 was very diffuse. At length, he plainly told the
 king, “his present professions would never recon-
 “cile to him the favour of the senate and people
 “of Rome, because they were avowedly superiour
 “in the field; something must be done that would
 “manifest a disposition to consult their interests
 “in preference to his own; he had now the fullest
 “opportunity since Jugurtha was in his power;
 “if he delivered him up to the Romans, their ob-
 “ligation to him would be great;—their friend-
 “ship, a firm alliance, and the district of Numidia
 “he claimed, would then be his without sollicita-
 “tion.”

THIS preliminary was stiffly objected to by
 the king; “it was a measure, which affinity, the
 “ties of blood, and even mutual alliance, all join-
 “ed to overthrow; he was fearful, moreover, to
 “inflame his subjects, whom such faithless deal-
 “ing might effectually estrange; for they loved
 “Jugurtha, and detested the people of Rome.”
 However when importuned farther on this sub-

276 THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

ject, he became more flexible, and promised that Sylla's directions should be implicitly obeyed. They then jointly settled the plan of a counterfeited treaty to cajole the Numidian, who, harassed by the war, was most eager for peace ; and having now adjusted their scheme of treachery, they separated to their several abodes.

NEXT day the king summoned Aspar, Jugurtha's ambassadour, before him, and informed him he understood through Dabar, from Sylla, that under proper stipulations the war might cease ; he therefore advised him to take his master's sentiments on the proposal : transported with the intelligence, Aspar set out for Jugurtha's camp, whence, after learning his determination, he returned expeditiously on the eighth day, and then related to Bocchus that " Jugurtha was most willing to submit to any conditions prescribed, but he had little dependance on Marius ;—the Roman generals had in times past, entered into many treaties with him but those treaties were never carried into effect : therefore, if Bocchus had their mutual interests at heart, and wished to make a durable peace, it was his business to appoint a general congress for the discussion of this matter, and then betray Sylla into his hands ; had he once this great man within his power, soon would the sanction of the Roman senate and people establish the league ;

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 277

“league; for was it to be believed they could
“suffer this illustrious personage to remain at the
“mercy of his foes? especially as he had not fallen
“into their hands through cowardliness, but
“while nobly exerting himself in his country’s
“cause!”

THE Moor after deep consideration of these arguments, promised, at length, to comply with his request; but whether this hesitation was real or affected does not fully appear: it is a truth, however, that the purposes of kings, as they are violent, so are they variable, and often contradictory in themselves. Having next appointed a time and place for conferring on the treaty, he, in the interval, granted private separate audience to Sylla and the ambassadour of Jugurtha, received each of them most courteously, and gave the same assurances to both, so that equal joy filled their bosoms, and they were elevated with hope alike.

BUT on the night immediately preceding the day of conference, the Moor summoned all his intimates before him, and presently after, resolving anew, ordered them away from his presence; when, it is said, he sustained the severest inward struggles, and that the distortions of his visage, his shifting colour, and the convulsive starts of his body, were all expressive of the various emotions of his soul, and that, tho’ he observed a
deep

deep silence, the conflicts in his breast were discovered by the agonies which his countenance displayed. Determined, however, at last, he sent for Sylla, and, by his direction, planted an ambush for the Numidian.

THEN when it was day, and Jugurtha's approach notified, (as if studious to do him honour by meeting him on the way) he went forth to a rising ground, full in view of those that lay in wait, attended by a few friends, and accompanied by our quæstor. Thither also came Jugurtha with most of his familiars, and, as it had been stipulated, without any arms; on the instant then, when a signal was made, the men in ambush rushed in and surrounded them on every side: all were slain on the spot save Jugurtha alone, who was delivered up to Sylla in chains, and by him led captive to Marius.

AT this period of time our generals Quintus Cæpius and Marcus Manlius, were defeated in an engagement with the Gauls, and this misfortune occasioned a general consternation in Italy; for the Romans at that day held the same opinion by which their ancestors had been ever swayed, namely that "their prowess could annihilate all
" other opposition, but that with the Gauls they
" were to act on the defensive, without aiming
" at renown."

BUT

THE JUGURTHINE WAR. 279

BUT now that report made publick at Rome the conclusion of the Numidian war, and that Jugurtha was on his way to the city in chains, Marius was elected consul in his absence, and to him was allotted the province of Gaul; thus enjoying this dignity he, on the first of January, triumphed with all the lustre of glory. Thenceforward the hopes and dependence of the citizens were centred in him alone.

The End of the JUGURTHINE WAR.

